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element in their consciousness of being a community at all. Sarakatsani, when they wish to stress their solidarity in opposition to villagers or other outsiders, often claim that, if full records of their marriages had been preserved through the generations, it would be clear that they are all kinsmen, although they are quick to add the qualification that such kinship has long ago 'left the house'. The same principles of kinship extension and marriage prohibition which from the point of view of the individual tend towards the loosening of his relations with collaterals within the kindred, at the same time lead to a measure of cohesion within the community considered as a system of actual and potential kinship relations. Kin and non-kin, actual relations and potential relations, are opposed but also complementary categories.

Of these three formal features of the Sarakatsan kindred the dominant is, without doubt, equivalent bilateral extension. The distinctive consequence of this principle is that the only possible corporate group based upon kinship alone which can exist in such a system over a period of time as long as a generation is the elementary family. For since there is no unilineal principle of descent grouping, there can be no corporate kinship group of higher order, which either includes the elementary family, or cuts across it by including some of its members and excluding others. Nor are there non-unilineal corporate kin groups in which membership is based on optional or alternate filiation or on the choice of residence after marriage.[1] Such arrangements would conflict with the symmetrical affiliation of Sarakatsani to all kinsmen through all lines and the equivalence of obligation to all kinsmen of the same degree. Although the association of an elementary family, for the first five to ten years of its existence, with the husband's extended family of origin may obscure the situation, the newly established elementary family is influenced by both the families of origin of the husband and wife.

An interesting recognition of this occurs on the very day of marriage when in other respects the bride's family feel that they

[1] For a review of non-unilineal descent groups, see William Davenport, 'Nonunilinear Descent and Descent Groups', *American Anthropologist*, 1959, vol. 61, pp. 557–72. Cf. also J. D. Freeman, 'The Family System of the Iban of Borneo', *Cambridge Papers in Social Anthropology No. 1*, Cambridge, 1958.

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612 have been defeated and plundered. The Greek Orthodox
594 marriage service is in two parts, the first being the rite of
585 Betrothal (ἀρραβῶνας), the second the rite of 'Crowning' (στεφάνωσις); and normally they are celebrated in church as one ceremony. The Sarakatsani, however, bring a priest to the huts of the bride's family to perform the religious betrothal ceremony which the shepherds name 'the half wedding' (ὁ μισὸς γάμος), and consider to be equal in importance to the office of 'Crowning'. The bride's kinsmen will not surrender her to the groom's retinue until this ceremony is performed, and equally the marriage ceremony cannot be completed until the bride is brought to the home of the bridegroom. In effect, each side celebrates half the marriage service.

594 This double attraction is eventually resolved by the new
612 family's relative emancipation from both the old families. Once the young family has parted from the husband's extended family of origin, it stands on its own without categorical rights over, or obligations towards, other related elementary families. It neither gives nor receives unconditional support of the kind that involves physical violence or economic assistance. In these important respects the family, even within the kindreds of its members, is, in a sense, isolated.

601 This isolation of the elementary family is accurately reflected by the kinship terminology, although in this respect it does not differ from the general form of European kinship terminologies. It is significant that the terms for the kinship personalities in a man's elementary families of origin and marriage, that is in his inner circle of kinship, are not extended to more distant kinsmen as is the case in many societies with systems of unilineal descent. The family (οἰκογένεια) which may refer, according to context, to either or both elementary families in which the individual has or had corporate membership, and to any surviving grandparents, is part of the kindred, yet at the same time is clearly distinguished from it. In its widest connotation the 'family' is, of course, a class of relations and not a residential group. The principles which essentially relate members of the family are parental obligation and filiation, while the kindred is based on collateral extension. Between these two classes of kinsmen siblings are the bridge, since at the same time they are directly descended from the same parents and grandparents and

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In a formal sense the elementary family is established on the day of marriage when the groom and his retinue of kinsmen and affines arrive to claim the bride at the huts of her father. After the celebration of the religious ceremony of betrothal in her own home the groom and his train escort the bride and her dowry back to the huts of the groom's family; there, after a short rest, for the journey is often long and rough, the wedding ceremony is performed by the priest on the afternoon of the same Sunday. None of the bride's family or kindred accompanies her to the home of the groom or witnesses the marriage service.[1] The physical severance from her family and kinsmen is complete and dramatic, the more so when it is remembered that since the day of her birth feelings of affection, co-operation at work, and even ordinary conversation, have only been possible for her inside the circle of the family and her kindred.

Many points of wedding custom reflect the character of her new status as a member of her husband's family of origin. When the groom arrives at the home of the bride and immediately before the religious ceremony of betrothal takes place, three gifts are presented to her by members of the groom's family. First the brother of the groom places at her feet a pair of new shoes; and in the right shoe he leaves a coin, preferably a gold sovereign. For now she enters a new pathway of her life, and it is hoped she will bring prosperity both to the family she is founding and to the family of her mother-in-law where she will live and work, at least for some years. Having placed the shoes at her feet the brother of the groom then greets her by taking her right hand in his. She returns his greeting with a demure and scarcely audible 'Thank you' and bending low over his outstretched hand carries it to her lips, then touches it to her forehead and once more to her lips. The other gift-bearers are sisters of the groom, or, if these are lacking, wives of his brothers. Their gifts are generally pieces of gold or silver jewellery, earrings, bracelets or necklaces with pendant crosses. The women greet the bride by kissing her first on the right cheek and then on the left and the bride responds by kissing their hands in the manner already described.

The moment comes when the bride must kiss the hands of her parents and leave them. Together with her brothers and

[1] However, where a family is related both to bride and groom, they will generally send a representative to support each side.

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sisters, her cousins and the wives of her brothers, she walks some two hundred yards to the place where the groom's party await her. As they walk they chant a song which with brevity and unspoken inference expresses her grief.

> Mother, bless me on this my first journey away from you.
> Daughter, go with my blessing, may God bring you fortune.[3]

The bride is surrendered, and the eldest brother of the groom mounts her on a chosen animal. The horse is led by a sister of the groom while the other sisters, brothers, and brothers' wives surround and support her on all sides; for she is not only frightened and desolate but physically weak after long hours of standing, and the lack of food and sleep which she has endured since the beginning of the customary ceremonies on the Friday. At the end of the journey the bride is led to the door of the bridegroom's hut where his parents stand to receive her. The father assists her to dismount and she kisses his hand. She kisses the mother's hand, too, and is embraced by her. Then, as she enters the hut, crossing the threshold with her right foot forward, the mother of the groom passes over her wrists two bracelets of bread and gives her a cup of wine in either hand which she pours in her steps as she moves to the far side of the hut. There she is greeted by and kisses the hands of those kinsmen and affines of the groom who did not make the journey to escort her from her home. Finally, they bring to her all the children; and in the same way and with the same respect she kisses their hands also. In the presentation of the gifts, and later of bread and wine, which are the elements of communion and commensality; in the concern the groom's family show for her on the journey to her new home; and in the bride's first ceremonial, but simple, exchange of greetings with people to whom she has never spoken, but to whom she is now irrevocably bound, there is symbolized the initial pattern of their relations, submission and respect on her part, and acceptance and protection on theirs.

[3] Εὐχήσου με μανούλα μου στὸ πρῶτο κίνημά μου.
Μὲ τὴν εὐχή μου, τσούπρα μου, Θεὸς νὰ σὲ προκόψῃ.

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585 602 From Sunday until the evening of Tuesday, by which time the guests have all departed, the bride remains secluded inside the bridegroom's hut, where she is attended by relays of the groom's close female kinswomen. This seclusion fits the feelings of shyness and shame which a bride is expected to experience [754] at the thought of the various implications of her new status; but it also protects her from the dangers of the evil eye, the destructive force of envy whether consciously or unconsciously exercised to which both the marriage partners are thought to be peculiarly susceptible at this time. In the groom's hut she is guarded and supported by the women with whom her lot is now cast and by the icons and other ritual objects which belong [576] to the family. Whenever a stranger or a member of the family comes into the hut she at once stands up to show respect, gazing fixedly with expressionless stare at the ground in front of her. It is not unusual for a bride to stand transfixed in this way for three or four hours. It is with the greatest difficulty that from time to time she is persuaded to sit down and rest, or to eat a mouthful of wheaten bread dipped in wine.

[535] On the Monday, however, she must leave the hut about midday to lead the dance. She dances in turn with the marriage sponsor (ὁ κουμπάρος), her husband, father-in-law and mother-in-law, brothers-in-law and sisters-in-law, and other prominent [272] guests. On the Tuesday morning she prepares in silence cups of sweet coffee for her parents-in-law. They wish her long life and sons, and she thanks them. At midday she makes a rice pie. Later that day the guests, who night and day have been drinking, dancing, and feasting since Saturday morning, depart. Before they leave, the guests, almost all of whom are kinsmen or affines of the groom, take their leave of the bride, the men taking her hand, the women kissing her on the cheeks; and she with respect kisses their hands. Each guest makes her a small money gift and she in return gives each man a small wedding bag (τροβάς) of black and white check material woven by herself, in which is placed some bread, meat, and cheese for the homeward journey. Each female guest receives a smaller embroidered bag. To the sponsor the bride gives the choicest blanket (βελέντζα) of her dowry after he has presented her with a money gift of about 100 drachmas (twenty-five shillings). The bride, at this point, also exchanges gifts with the members

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of her husband's immediate family. She gives shirts or socks to her father-in-law and brothers-in-law. To her husband's sisters and sisters-in-law she presents embroidered bodices. As a rule the father-in-law presents the new bride with a blanket and the other members give her various articles of clothing, such as skirts or blouses.

All the guests have now left and on the Tuesday night the bride and groom sleep together for the first time. But the ceremonial introduction of the bride to her new family and the tasks she must perform is not yet completed. On the Wednesday the women of the family escort the bride to the well. With them walks a youth carrying the wedding standard. This standard attests the virginity and purity of the two partners and, except on the Sunday when it is borne in front of the bridegroom on his journey to claim the bride, it has flown above the thatch of the bridegroom's hut since the Saturday evening.[3] On the Wednesday morning, since the marriage has now been consummated in the physical union of the bride and groom, the standard is taken down from the roof. At the spring or well the shaft of the standard is thrust upright into the water and abandoned, while the standard is cut free and put away until the marriage of another son. In the minds of the Sarakatsani this is the definitive moment when the bride finally enters the ranks of the married women.[4] At once the bride fills and carries to the huts of her new home her first barrel of water. This is an appropriate task to open her new life of service; for carrying water is rightly considered by the women to be their hardest work. Bent double under their enormous load they must often stagger as far as a mile from the well to the huts. On the afternoon of the same day she takes up her distaff for the first time and spins a little red wool, red the colour which represents virility in her husband, strength and fertility in herself. On the Thursday, under the supervision of her mother-in-law and with some help from the other women, she washes the clothes of the whole family as well as her own undergarments stained with the blood of her virginity. During these first few days all the women of the family make a conscious effort to put the bride at ease in

[3] When it replaces a smaller flag made with a handkerchief, placed there at the beginning of the marriage preparations.

[4] Cf. Höeg, op. cit., vol. i, p. 52.

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585 596 her new surroundings. They can appreciate her feelings of despair and loneliness; it is an ordeal which one day every Sarakatsan woman must face. But such sentiments can be [604] afforded only a brief indulgence. From the Friday the bride undertakes the full routine of work allotted to her by her husband's mother.

The ceremonial induction into the family of the groom during and immediately after the wedding, the symbolic acts which she must perform, and the exchange of gifts with her close affines, all indicate the quality of her initial status within the extended family. The essential fact is that the new bride is subordinate to all other adults in the extended family. Even the five-year-olds try with varying success to boss the new 'bride'. As a worker her services belong to the whole group. She is, as they often say, 'our bride'. Not only does she care for the comfort of her own husband but she is responsible for washing, mending, and darning the clothes of all his unmarried brothers. In general, it can be said that any hard or unpleasant work will be delegated to her. A mule to be rounded up, water to be carried—the new bride is certain to be sent. 'She must learn our ways,' the other women explain, 'and must take root in her [606] new family. Besides, she has no children to care for.' The bride takes most of her orders from her mother-in-law under whose critical and watchful direction she works. But she must be prepared to carry out requests from any brother, sister, or other more senior bride of the extended family. Yet despite her subordinate status she is accepted as a full member of the group. This is the implication of the exchange of gifts with members of the family; for in this community gifts are never exchanged with unrelated persons. 'She is one of us', they say. Membership carries with it the possibility of a growing comradeship, and the right to protection against insult and injury from outsiders.

585 596 576 Her behaviour is extremely modest. She speaks only if she is addressed, and then her replies are made with the utmost show of respect. She addresses her husband's brothers as ἀφέντη, [601] 'master', and his sisters as κυρά, 'mistress'. She follows her husband in his modes of address to all senior relatives, father, mother, uncle, aunt, and so on. The family and kinsmen address the newcomer as simply νύφη, 'bride'. In the first months the bride will rise to her feet and remain standing when a man of the

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family comes into the hut and will not sit down unless specifically requested to do so.

The young bride is punctilious in providing all these expressions of respect and humility. In this new situation what is important for her is that her formal membership in the extended family shall in as short a time as is conventionally possible become a more spontaneous acceptance of herself by the other members of the group. Yet even at this early stage, when as an individual she counts for very little, she is aware that her person separates her husband from his family of origin. The dowry wealth which she has brought, and in which the whole family takes pride, is property held in trust for her unborn children; it may not be alienated for the benefit of her husband's brothers. The distaff, with which she spins her first wool on the Wednesday, is a gift from her husband, preferably carved by himself or, if he has not the skill, at least commissioned by him.[1] The bride may not bring a distaff from her own home nor may she receive one as a gift from her mother-in-law or anybody else in her husband's family. This is an object with mystical power which will protect her children from evil forces. In these respects it is a symbol of the solidarity and future autonomy of her family which as yet scarcely exists but whose full development only death or sterility can hinder. Her awareness of the odd contradiction in her new situation, the humility required of her on the one hand, the assurance of her ultimate triumph on the other, only increases the bride's feelings of shyness and shame, attitudes which on other grounds she is anyway expected to express.

During the early months of the marriage the young husband gives the minimum of overt public attention to his bride. He may, in stern, almost harsh, tones, make some simple request of her for food and drink or dry clothes, but he does not make conversation. For her part, a bride will never address her husband before other members of the family. If she requires anything she arranges it through her husband's brother. There is not, during this period, the slightest inclination on the part of the husband to champion his wife in any dispute which she may have with the other women of the family. Nor does he show the least annoyance when a brother, in his presence,

[1] See Chatzimichalis, op. cit., vol. i, Part B, p. 410.

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585 593 596 [833] [513] gives his wife some peremptory order. The husband's obligations and affections are still entirely contained within his own family of origin. Indeed his behaviour reflects an almost compulsive assertion that 'this is how it will always be'. Clearly if this fiction is to be maintained for even a short space of time, the husband must not display any affective interest in his bride, since this would inevitably disturb the equilibrium in the old pattern of his relations with his siblings and his parents. Therefore in his general behaviour the husband attempts to deny the importance of his exclusive sexual relationship with his bride and he makes every effort to conceal the occurrence and frequency of sexual intercourse. However, since all the members of a family sleep together in the same hut, this is not easy.

585 833 596 577 [342] Before the marriage ceremony a temporary hut is built for the bridal pair, or sometimes a space is cleared in the hut which is otherwise used as a store-shed. Customarily the bridegroom does not go with the sheep for eight days from the Sunday of his marriage and he is thus able to sleep in privacy with his bride for six nights. Although this initial privacy is granted to him, the whole progress of these marital events is shared by the groom with his brothers; some of this information also leaks through to the female members of the family. In this first sexual communion the entire family identifies itself with the young husband. There is no question at this stage of his having any affection for his bride. This may emerge later partly as a result of the intimacies now initiated. It is something of an ordeal and a matter of considerable anxiety for all Sarakatsan bridegrooms that they should be able to effect a technically successful assault upon this strange woman and uphold their reputation for manliness in its most literal sense, a reputation which affects the prestige of the entire family. The stress on physical and moral manliness (ἀνδρισμός) in the stereotype of the ideal man encourages in the Sarakatsani a deep-seated fear of sexual impotence on this critical occasion which is, indeed, almost a public ceremony of initiation. In the morning, success or failure on the previous night is discussed with brothers in embarrassed monosyllables and, if there has been difficulty, they try to give advice and encouragement. Any lack of sexual prowess almost inevitably reaches the ears of the bride's family and the possibility of a leakage farther afield cannot be overlooked.

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But with the return of the young shepherd bridegroom to his sheep this co-operative interest in his sexual relations ends. He may continue to sleep with his bride in privacy for one or two months but if he prolongs this period unduly it represents a clear breach in the solidarity of the family. Sexual intercourse becomes now progressively associated not with the proof of manliness, but with conjugal intimacy and solidarity. And in his attempt to maintain his relations with his family of origin unaltered and intact he uses great care to avoid any demonstration of this kind of interest in his bride. Sarakatsan sleeping arrangements are simple. Velenzas, thick woollen carpet-like blankets, are spread on the ground. The Sarakatsanos removes his shoes and his jacket, and another velenza is placed over him. It is the duty of the young bride to place the heavy enveloping velenzas over each member of the family in turn and then to put out the oil lamp before making her way to her husband's side. It is not generally very long before a concert of snores indicates that the family is asleep and it is then possible for the bride and groom under their heavy covering to exchange silent embraces. Silence, of course, is necessary to avoid discovery but in any case the Sarakatsani believe that speech during intercourse is shameful. At first light the bride is first on her feet to blow the embers on the hearth into a blaze and prepare the coffee. With these conventional arrangements it is possible for the physical solidarity of the family to remain relatively unimpaired, and for the bride and groom to enjoy marital intimacy without directly affronting the sensibilities of the husband's family of origin.

However, there is a further complication. Before his marriage the young shepherd returned from the sheep to spend a night at the family hut perhaps once in every three weeks; then he changed his clothes, had the luxury of a night under cover, and heard the family news and gossip. After his marriage he comes openly to the huts more frequently; but he cannot return more than once in every twelve or thirteen days without feeling some embarrassment that he is showing too much interest in a person who is still an interloper in the family circle, and a sense of shame that his sexual desires and intentions must be very evident. He therefore supplements his fortnightly visits with other clandestine meetings. The bride sleeps near the door,

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585 a cold and draughty part of the hut not favoured by more
P33 senior members of the family. The groom arrives at the huts
596 some time after midnight when the family is asleep, slips into the hut, remains with his young wife for an hour or so and then, well before dawn, is already on his way back to the sheep which may be two or three hours' walking distance away.
522 Naturally the family are aware that these visits occur. Stories are told about grooms who tripped over milk cans as they entered the pitch dark hut or failed to convince the dogs of their true identity. They are considered to be hysterically funny; perhaps an indication of the ambivalent feelings which this conflict of loyalties provokes.

585 If the newly married shepherd is the eldest son the developing
596 pattern of relations has certain rather specific nuances. The family take an excessive pride in the first bride. They also take some trouble to make her feel at home, although at the same time their sensitivity to the attitude of the groom towards her is greater than in the case of the marriages of younger brothers. This after all is the first intrusion of an outsider into the hitherto exclusive family circle. More importantly the relationship between a father and his eldest son frequently shows signs of strain during this period. A father cannot in accordance with customary right long delay his retirement beyond the time when his eldest son has his first child, for it is an important value of this community that a man who is married and a parent should be the 'master' (νοικοκύρης) in his own household. But after the son's marriage and before the birth of the first child the father insists that he should continue to control the affairs of the extended family while the son is learning under his guidance the elements of his future role. Until the pregnancy of his wife is well established, the irritating uncertainty about the transfer of power, which will confer on him the status and prestige of a family leader in the community, sometimes tempts the son to show a lack of respect[4] to his father which previously he would not have dared to express so freely.

596 The retirement of the father resolves tensions between proxi-
577 mate generations in the extended family which are considerably aggravated by the influence of the prestige values of the wider

[4] Such lack of respect, however, is seldom shown in public.

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a very intimate friendship with Theodoros' youngest brother; and despite the fact that Pericles was idle, quarrelsome and inefficient. Similarly, when a man visits another neighbourhood he will always stay at the huts of his first cousin although, on personal grounds, he might prefer to be entertained by a more congenial but more distant kinsman.

These facts are easily understood. A collateral kinship bond is a relationship derived from a pair of siblings. It makes a sensible difference whether this derivation is at one or two removes. And this is so not only on grounds of sentiment but also in relation to the limits of the kindred. The children of first cousins are members of the kindred but the children of second cousins are not kinsmen. The first is a growing relationship, the second is not. A man who is 35 years old will generally know all his first cousins, but sometimes there may be a number of his second cousins whom he has not met personally, although he will always know something about their families and their affairs. Second cousins are on the margin of kinship, people who are nearly 'strangers'. They remain kinsmen who must be guarded and cherished but there is some diminution of responsibility towards them. These facts are illustrated by the different behaviour of first and second cousins which may sometimes be observed at weddings. In the quarrels which flare up on these occasions between unrelated guests, there is always the danger that fighting may become so violent and general that the wedding festivities have to be abandoned; this is a great disgrace for the family which is acting as host. It is noticeable that a bridegroom's first cousins feel it is their responsibility to prevent this both by the swiftness of their intervention, where their own kinship alignments allow this, and by the restraint they hold over their own feelings when they are themselves concerned in some incident. Second cousins on the other hand abandon themselves more easily to considerations of injured dignity and self-regard and, in the rush of blood to their heads, temporarily forget their duties to kinsmen.

Yet despite the general importance of kinship distance as a measure of obligation and solidarity, a quality which is particularly characteristic of the kindred is its flexibility. If a man has interests in some part of the community where he can find only a second cousin, or an uncle who is a cousin of one of his

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4. EXPRESSIONS OF SOLIDARITY

619 612 [581] The Zagori community of Sarakatsani is geographically dispersed for reasons which are mainly ecological. Patrilocal marriage, suspicion of affines who live near the same village, yet the need for strategic alliances in other parts of Zagori, are factors which lead men to look for brides in a distant neighbourhood. Consequently the kindred of any individual tends to be more or less congruent with the boundaries of the community itself, in the sense that a shepherd generally has at least 527 a few relatives in any quarter of the Zagori. For these reasons the 612 few festive occasions during the year which bring distant kins- 591 men together are looked forward to with some anticipation. This is so not only for the utilitarian consideration that it is valuable to renew associations with kinsmen whose practical help may be required in the future, but simply for the company of people who value a man and return his affections. It is an aspect of the constant yearning for unity in a society which is, in [183] fact, fragmented by exclusive familial loyalties. It might be said that these occasions when kinsmen meet are important because in the atmosphere of festival excitement the sentiments of kinship solidarity are strengthened and recreated. At weddings, for 585 527 example, quarrels almost always develop between unrelated 612 guests, and the kinsmen who rush to the aid of their own people [578] are giving a dramatized expression to the ideal of kinship solidarity. But, if it is true that the gathering of dispersed kinsfolk is an occasion for the restatement of kinship values, it is also true that it is the sentiment of kinship which invokes the gathering at all. Thus, although wedding invitations are sent out to all consanguineal and to a large number of affinal relatives, not all of the more distantly related of these persons will attend, and it is always recognized that whether or not an invited kinsman comes to the wedding is an indication of the effective solidarity, or absence of solidarity, between the invited man's family and the family of the groom or bride. Naturally the whole of the kinsman's family cannot attend a wedding together. The demands of shepherding prevent this. But one member at least is expected to go as a representative.

612 574 A man, of course, may visit a kinsman at any time; in his huts he will always find shelter and hospitality for the night.

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But these visits are unlikely to be merely social and the main purpose of the journey is generally the arrangement of some business. At festivals, on the other hand, kinsmen meet to enjoy one another's company and other considerations are secondary. On the Tuesday after Easter Monday a man often sets off on a journey to a close kinsman living at a distance whom he has not seen during the winter. And after the feast of St. George before the migration to summer pastures there may be a wedding to attend. Later in the year when the Sarakatsani have moved up to the mountain villages of the Zagori there are other opportunities to meet less closely related kinsmen. About the end of July when the impregnated ewes gradually cease to yield milk, there is more leisure for the shepherds to attend the weddings, most of which occur in August and September. Also a number of the villages in the Zagori celebrate in the summer the feast-day of their patron saint. These village feasts (πανηγύρια) last for three days and nights during which there is almost continuous dancing in the village square with much eating and drinking besides. Many Sarakatsani go to these village festivals not only when it is the feast-day of the saint of their own summer village, but also to the celebrations of other villages where they have a kinsman. In the holiday atmosphere they are hospitably welcomed and their company and conversation give pleasure to their hosts. It makes no difference whether visitors are near or distant relatives; the more visitors a family entertains the more its prestige increases. But in addition to these public festivals each Sarakatsan family, or stani, celebrates privately one of the three summer religious festivals which they consider important. These are: the prophet Elias, 20th July, Saint Paraskeve, 26th July, and the Assumption of the All Holy One (The Virgin Mary), 15th August. On these feast-days meat is killed, wine is drunk, and in the larger stanis there is dancing. It is essentially a family celebration but kinsmen, who live in other villages and celebrate a different festival, will come to visit and share in the festivities. These are the various occasions which help to maintain a certain minimal frequency of contact between dispersed kinsmen, although the demands of the sheep prevent any individual shepherd from being present at more than one or perhaps two of these events each year.

But weddings are, undoubtedly, the most significant of these

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585 612 festivals. An invitation morally obliges a family to send a representative. It is not a question of whether a man can afford the time and expense to go and enjoy himself for three or four days, but rather that it is his duty to attend and support the family of the bride or groom simply because the members of that family are kinsmen. A man may pay a visit to a kinsman or assist him in some way out of motives which are in part practical and ulterior, but he goes to help a kinsman at his wedding without such utilitarian interest. The kinsman may live in a part of Zagori or the winter pastures where he is unlikely to be of any assistance. He may be poor while the wedding guest may be rich. It might perhaps be argued that a man stands by his kinsmen at their weddings so that in return they will support the [554] weddings in his own family. For it is true that if a large number of kinsmen come to a wedding the family gains prestige. But more important than this outward sanction is the inner concern for, and interest in, the personal affairs of a kinsman. In this matter as in the other moral obligations of kinship the Sarakatsani advance no explanation of why they must act in a particular way beyond the comment 'That's how we found it and that's [577] the way we keep it' (ἔτσι τὸ βρήκαμε καὶ ἔτσι τὸ κρατᾶμε). In other words, in discussing the solidarity of the kindred we are dealing with self-evident values which appear to a man to be sentiments innate in every Sarakatsanos.

The wedding customs of the Sarakatsani reflect in many ways the solidarity of kinsmen. And although it is not my purpose to give an exhaustive description of these customs it will be relevant to the present discussion if I indicate in a general way how kinsmen participate in these ceremonies.

The celebrations are held separately by the family of the bride and the family of the groom at their respective homes. The only point at which the activities of the two groups intersect is when the bridegroom arrives on Sunday morning with his bridal procession of kinsmen (ψίκι) to take away the bride. A man who is related to both the bride and the groom must be the guest of only one side. He is not permitted to spend part of the time with both groups.

585 612 261 [431] Each guest to a wedding brings an offering of food and wine. This consists of a round of bread (κουλούρα) with symbolical ornamentations on the crust; a wooden bottle (βουτσέλι) of wine; and a slaughtered lamb or sheep.

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wine; and a slaughtered lamb or sheep. For the Sarakatsani a meal is a family communion to which unrelated shepherds are never invited. The wedding-feast is the family meal writ large with the family of the kindred sitting down to eat bread together. For all food is in a generic sense bread. 'Come, let us eat bread', cries the wedding master of ceremonies. As E. S. Drower[1] has said in discussing the symbolism of bread in Mediterranean cultures, 'It is not only the symbol of life. Bread, itself a union of many grains into a single substance, when broken into fragments and divided amongst many, becomes a symbol of life shared, of a society at peace with itself, of a family bound together by a common factor.'

Wine, too, is a life-fluid. It is drunk ritually by the bride and groom during the religious wedding ceremony. From the Saturday till the Tuesday afternoon, when the festivities end, it is drunk to excess by the whole bibulous assembly. A glass of wine must be accompanied by a toast, and every man tries to drink to the health of each of his kinsmen present. Wine is the symbol of blood; and each toast affirms a relationship. 'To your health, John' (Γειά σου Γιάννη). 'To your marriages, boys' (Μωρὲ παιδιὰ στὶς χαρές σας), when drinking with unmarried youths or young men; or simply, 'To your wedding' (στὸ γάμο σου). 'To the marriages of your sons' (στῶν παιδιῶν σας), in a toast to married men. 'A happy old age' (καλὰ γεράματά σας), used in drinking to the old men. And so on.[2]

In the confined space of an arbour covered with thick woollen blankets, between one hundred and two hundred men and boys are gathered. In the centre of the floor space the dancing only stops when the company sits down to eat. Then the plates of roasted meat are devoured almost in silence. Afterwards the dance is on again. Those who are not dancing, sing in accompaniment. The gipsy band beat out strange and exciting rhythms in which the high-pitched clarinet is never silent. In this intense atmosphere with men drinking steadily and shouting their toasts across the heads of the squatting assembly to their kinsmen, any link of kinship makes men like brothers, its absence potential enemies. For it must not be forgotten that although the wedding guests are all related in some fashion to

[1] E. S. Drower, *Water into Wine*, London, 1956, p. 44.
[2] See Höeg, op. cit., vol. i, p. 50.

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their hosts, they are not necessarily related to one another. Men whose pride is always sensitive become tense with nervous excitement and excess of alcohol. An alleged word or act which is interpreted as insulting, or the memory of a past grievance, may be the occasion of a quarrel; and this, if it is not controlled at once, may end in general violence by mobilizing support for the antagonists along the lines of kinship allegiance. As I have already suggested, these fights give very tangible expression to kinship bonds. But there are, also, less dramatic forms of communion. During the three days and nights of sustained revelry there are occasional breaks of an hour or two when musicians rest or the company observe some item of wedding custom such as the display of the bride's dowry. Then kinsmen sit apart and exchange their news of families and marriages, sheep and politics.

Guests come to a wedding to support their kinsmen. They do this not only by their presence but also by lending practical assistance. Among the men this applies particularly to the first cousins of the bride or groom. These relatives take a hand in preparing the carcasses of the animals for roasting by fixing them on spits. Later they supervise the fires over which the spits are turned and they baste the meat to prevent it from burning. They cut up the whole animal into individual portions. When the meal is ready it is the first cousins who assist the brothers of the family to lay cloths on the ground, pass round forks and spoons and finally hand to each guest his individual portion of meat. After the meal is over it is again first cousins who stand in the middle of the dancing, one with a bottle of ouzo and the other with a plate of cheese or olives to give refreshment to the sweating dancers. These are not considered to be menial tasks; on the contrary, it is a privilege of close kinship to be allowed to assist in this way.

The women hold their sombre, almost melancholy, celebrations apart from the men in a nearby hut where they sing and sometimes dance. Here, again, the close female relatives of the family assist in handing round the food. But of the women guests it is the old grandmothers who play the most important role. Outside in the open-air kitchen they preside over the huge cooking-pots of potatoes, stews, and soups, enlivening their labours with gossip and attended by dogs and children anticipating scraps.

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The support of kinsmen for the bride or groom is expressed more specifically in particular points of marriage custom. One of the more important ceremonies is 'The sewing of the wedding standard' (τὸ ράψιμο τοῦ φλάμπουρου), which takes place on the Saturday evening after the guests have arrived. For this standard, which flies from the hut of the groom until the marriage has been consummated, is more than a sign that nuptial celebrations are in progress; it is a symbol of marriage itself, the joining of noble youth with virgin maid.[1] In standing with him at this ceremony the company of kinsmen witness their certain knowledge of the bridegroom's nobility and their belief in the bride's virginity. Only the joining of these qualities in a marriage celebrated before God makes possible parenthood with honour. 'Whose is the wedding standard, noble and red? It is the standard of the bridegroom . . .' (Τίνος εἶν'τὸ φλάμπουρο, τ'ἄξιο καὶ τὸ κόκκινο, τοῦ γαμπροῦ εἶν'τὸ φλάμπουρο . . .), they sing. A standard requires a standard-bearer (φλαμπουράρης), and for this coveted position a youth between the ages of sixteen and twenty is chosen. He must not have had experience of sexual intercourse and both his mother and father must be alive. He is almost always a young first cousin or nephew of the groom. On the Saturday night the flag, which nowadays is the national flag of Greece, is sewn by the youth to a pole some six or seven feet in length, at the top of which a small wooden cross is secured. As the boy sews the flag the whole company of kinsmen stand around him in a circle and sing the appropriate wedding song. When the sewing is completed, the boy impales pomegranates or apples, symbols of fertility, on the three points of the small wooden cross and, finally, ties to the flag-pole below the cross a handkerchief and two strands of wool, one coloured red for virility, the other white for purity. The guests now form a dance-ring, the band strikes up, and the standard-bearer leads the dance holding aloft in his right hand the newly sewn standard. He then sets up the flag in the thatch of the groom's hut at the right-hand side of the doorway where it remains until the next morning, when the standard-bearer, mounted on a fine horse, lifts it down from the roof and leads the groom's bridal procession on its journey to the home of the bride.

The groom and his family rely on the support of their kindred

[1] At the weddings of widows or widowers no flag is flown.

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585 612 to make the bridal procession the spectacular occasion it must appear if their prestige is to be maintained in the community. [492] They give this support by their numbers, their own bearing, and the quality of their horses and the coloured woollen saddle-cloths which are draped over the backs of the animals. For whenever the procession passes through or close to a village both Sarakatsani and villagers line the path, to enjoy the spectacle with critical eyes, and to exchange greetings with the [522] riders. The watchers laugh excitedly and try to draw the riders into an exchange of bawdy quips and jokes, but the horsemen must remain unmoved with upright backs and proud serious faces.

Earlier on the same Sunday morning before the bridal procession sets out on its journey, the bridegroom is prepared for [302] his ordeal. Seated on a chair outside the door of his hut he is attended by a kinsman with the necessary skill, who cuts his hair, shaves his beard, and trims the moustache. This, like the sewing of the standard, is a part of customary wedding ritual. [533] The kinsmen gather about the groom and accompanied by the gipsy band sing about the shaving of the bridegroom. From time to time the singing is interrupted by heated debate between the watching kinsmen and the barber as to the style of the hair cutting, the angle of the moustache, and the effectiveness of the shaving. For they fear the appraisal of strangers on the road and the malicious hopes of the bride's kinsmen that the bridegroom will in some way look ridiculous.

585 605 292 After the barber has completed his task, two or three of the more senior first cousins with a reputation for worldly knowledge go into the hut to supervise the changing of the bridegroom's clothes (ν' ἀλλάξουν τὸ γαμπρό). The Sarakatsani [178] have abandoned the traditional kilt and today the prosaic costume of a bridegroom consists of a white shirt buttoned to the neck without a tie, and a blue suit of manufactured cloth. [754 833] The cousins help their young kinsman to put on these clothes to which he is not accustomed and they make certain that he does not change his underclothes; for with these an envious man or woman might affect the sexual potency of the groom by sorcery. As a prophylactic against the same peril they place some steel object in the folds of the shirt tails before he puts it on. As he is 585 605 dressed, almost like a child, they feed him with various pieces

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of good advice, telling him in detail how he must deport himself that day on the road and later at the home of the bride.

At the home of the bride kinsfolk support her family in a similar manner, particularly in a number of situations where a measure of dramatized hostility is shown to the groom's party when they arrive to take away the bride; but these are episodes which I shall describe in the following chapter. The dressing and adornment of the bride, naturally, is a more elaborate affair than the preparation of the groom. In this, two or three senior married aunts or first cousins generally take a hand, assisted by the more sophisticated village dressmaker who in most cases has been responsible for cutting and sewing the white wedding gown. All through the long night of Saturday the bride sits in her parents' hut. She must not sleep for this would demonstrate an equanimity at odds with the grief she is expected to feel at the thought of leaving her parents and her home on the morrow. Her kinswomen sit closely round her. Two of them hold her hands. From time to time they sing the repetitive, intensely sad, songs that tell of the bride's departure from the only home she has ever known.

* * *

In this chapter I have attempted to give a fuller description of the relations of collateral kin than it was possible to present in chapter three, where I was mainly concerned to describe the formal characteristics of the kindred. I mentioned, then, that various aspects of kindred relations might be seen in terms of an opposition between the solidarity of siblings and the principle of parental obligation, the former being the source of moral solidarity between kinsmen, the latter strongly influencing the isolation of the family group from the collateral kinsmen of its members. The 'free favours' which a man does without thought or calculation for an uncle, cousin, or nephew, are related to kinship solidarity, the qualities of which follow from the notion of an extensive sibling relationship; while calculated co-operation which involves the corporate wealth of family groups is influenced by the particularistic obligations of parenthood. As one might expect, those cousins, father's brother's children, whose families of origin were concerned in co-operative sheep

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582 In these manœuvres, the object of both the family and their
581 negotiator is to establish a marriage contract with a group in which, by reason of some mediating link of kinship, they can place a measure of trust. Some hostility will still exist between the groups, but there is the hope that it will pass more rapidly from the overt to the latent phase than otherwise is the case. From 121 marriages in recent years, 52 were contracted between families connected by some mediating link of kinship or marriage; nine were marriages between third cousins.

2. THE ELEMENT OF HOSTILITY
MARRIAGE AND THE 'RETURN'

584 During the months which pass between the betrothal and the
602 day of the marriage, the date of which is fixed at the betrothal, there is no communication between the two groups. If members of the two families or their close relatives meet by chance, they avoid one another. When Machoula Gogolos was approached by a sophisticated cousin of her betrothed after the Easter Sunday church service, she refused to exchange greetings with her, and turning her back, walked away. Each side in an atmosphere of mutual aversion separately attends to its wedding preparations.

585 The day of the wedding marks an important change in the
602 relations between the two groups. On this day the two sides formally enter into affinal relations (συμπεθεριά), and a daughter leaves her home. The feelings of the girl's family, especially of her parents, are mixed. On the one hand there is relief and self-congratulation that they have succeeded in guarding her reputation unblemished and arranging an honourable marriage.
[152] But there is also true grief at the loss of a daughter, a loss which is harder to bear because of their anxiety about how the strangers will use her. It is easy to observe the strained expressions on the faces of the bride's brothers as they watch the groom's people boasting in loud voices and strutting about the homestead. But self-restraint must be exercised in dealings with affines, if only for the sake of the bride. The exchanges between the two groups, when the groom arrives to take away the bride, vary between the openly expressed hostility which sometimes occurs and a formal display of amity which is, in fact, a controlled hostility cloaked with fair words. Midway between

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these extremes is the ambivalence of certain marriage customs which express the mutual antagonism between the two sides and its limitation within conventional bounds. 585 602

When the groom's bridal procession arrives at a point about a quarter of a mile from the bride's home it halts. Five of the younger, braver, and better mounted men (συγχαριάτες) ride on ahead to bear the tidings of the groom's approach to the bride's people. Their object is to ride up to the door of the bride's hut at a full gallop, where they attempt to scatter and terrify the kinsmen of the bride. The aim of the bride's people, on the other hand, is to dismount and thereby ridicule as many of the riders as possible. Traditionally, this was done by firing blank charges at the feet of the oncoming horses, so that they reared in terror and threw their riders. Nowadays, if the [554] bride lives near a village, this method of attack is not attempted because the possession of firearms is illegal, but with the help of barking dogs and the banging of tin cans it is still possible to give the riders an unpleasant reception. Because convention permits this cut and thrust, no offence may be taken, unless it is pursued with an excess of malice. As each man reaches the door of the bride's hut, he claims from an appointed kinsman of the bride the coloured handkerchief which is the prerogative of these riders.

When the entire party of the groom has assembled, they are offered Turkish delight and a glass of ouzo by the bride's family, but this is the limit of the hospitality which is offered. Before the arrival of the groom, the bride's people have [271] prepared a shady picnic site, by spreading blankets on the ground and providing a barrel of fresh water. Thus while the bride's kinsmen eat and dance inside the huts, the groom's party take their midday meal outside under a tree, eating the food they have brought with them. They invariably eat this meal in a mood of impatient ill-humour, with many complaints that the water is tepid and the place unsuitable. By this formal denial of commensality the bride's family express their opposition to those who support the bridegroom.

After the religious betrothal ceremony has been completed, the groom's party are eager to leave. The bride's family, on the [535] contrary, insist that she goes through the lengthy ritual of dancing for the last time with each member of her family.

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585 602 'She is ours, now', shout the groom's men, which only encourages the other side to delay the departure for another half an hour. These arguments are accepted moves in the game and do not cause permanent offence so long as they remain within the limits of what is convetionally permitted.

Finally, when the bride is prepared to leave, there is some byplay over the acceptance and loading of the bride's dowry. The trunks and sacks in which this is contained are stacked in the doorway of the bride's hut. The young kinsmen of the groom advance to take it, but at this moment a kinsman of the bride jumps astride the first sack and shouts, 'Don't interfere with it. The sack doesn't belong to you. This dowry has great worth' (Μὴ τὸ πειράζῃς, εἶναι ξένο τὸ σακκί. Ἔχουν ἀξία τὰ προικιά). He refuses to get off the sack until the groom's eldest brother pays over some token pieces of money. The groom's kinsmen now drag the bulky sacks and trunks outside, where they begin to load them on to pack mules. This is an awkward operation which gives much enjoyment to the bride's kinsmen who stand round in a close circle mocking at the efforts of the other side to balance and secure the difficult loads.

But fair words are also exchanged. These expressions of amity indicate the readiness of each side to co-operate in establishing the new relationship and in supporting the children of the new family, on the understanding that the other side will also play their part. For the contract which is entered into at the betrothal is not confined to co-operation in the arrangement of the marriage, it also foresees the future obligations which the two families must assume towards the new family group in which both will have a common and balanced interest.

578 When the groom's party arrives at the bride's house, all the riders, including those unfortunates who may have been thrown from their horses, must exchange conventional greetings which express their common interest in the bridal couple. 'Good health to you, it is well that we have found you! May our bride and groom live long and prosper!' (Γειά σας! Καλῶς σᾶς ηὕραμε! Νὰ μᾶς ζήσουν! Νὰ μᾶς προκόψουν!). And a brother of the groom exchanges the wine and 'bread of the bride' (κουλούρα τῆς νύφης), baked by the women of the groom's family, for the same elements of communion and commensality prepared and presented by the bride's family.

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Half an hour later, as they drink the one glass of ouzo which, as we have seen, is the full extent of the hospitality shown to them, the bridegroom's kinsmen sing, 585 602

'We have not come for food or drink, [539]
But because we love you,
We have come to see you.
I find tables fair and laden,
And glasses brimming over.
Three maidens with black eyes serve us.
Three maidens with the eyebrows of angels.'[1]

They could hardly sing more fairly. Thus during the two or three hours that the parties of the bride and the groom are in contact, marriage custom enjoins the expression of the opposed sentiments of friendship and enmity. It indicates the ambivalent character of the affinal relationship which demands co-operation between previously unrelated and therefore hostile families. Naturally this ambivalence of sentiment is more apparent in the early years, but it never wholly vanishes at any time.

The margins between antagonism permitted and instituted by convention and the display of excessive malice is narrow. Quarrels over the time and precise arrangements of the bride's departure frequently flare up into free violence. In one case, no sooner had the bride progressed some two hundred yards on her journey to the groom's home, than a fierce rain storm broke overhead drenching the bride and her white wedding dress. 585 602 578

[1] Δὲν ἤρθαμεν γιὰ φαΐ γιὰ πί
ροϊδούλα, ροϊδούλα.
Μεῖς σᾶς ἀγαπήσαμεν,
ροϊδούλα, ροϊδούλα,
ροϊδούλα, χαμαϊδούλα,
κι'ἤρθαμεν νὰ σᾶς δοῦμε.
βρίσκω τραπέζια νόμορφα
ροϊδούλα, ροϊδούλα,
ροϊδούλα, χαμαϊδούλα,
γυαλιὰ παραγεμάτα.
Τρεῖς μαυρομάτες μᾶς χαρνᾶν,
ροϊδούλα, ροϊδούλα,
ροϊδούλα, χαμαϊδούλα,
κι τρεῖς ἀγγελαφρύδες.

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585 602 576 577 Her relatives, leaping to their horses, rode after the cavalcade insisting that the bride return and take shelter. The groom's kinsmen angrily refused to halt, pointing out that if a bride retraces her steps or even looks round upon the house she has left, it brings ill luck upon her new home. Refusing to be drawn into further argument, they rode on. The enraged kinsmen of the bride dismounted, and blaspheming against the sisters and mothers of their future affines, sent them away to a fusillade of rifle shots over their heads and stones aimed at their bodies.

However, the separate celebration of the wedding feast, each family in its own home, the denial of commensality, and the mutual display of antagonism institutionalized in wedding custom, are the last occasions on which the two families are permitted to bear witness openly to the aspect of mutual opposition in their relationship. Before the eldest brother of the bridegroom leaves the bride's house, he is offered a glass of ouzo by the bride's father or brother who says, 'We shall wait for you'. This refers to the customary visit or 'return' (ἐπιστροφή), which is made by the bride and groom and the latter's close relatives to the former home of the bride, generally on the second Sunday after the wedding. Meat is killed, quantities of wine are bought, and there is feasting and dancing through the night.

585 602 581 The 'return' is an important occasion. By this time, the new marriage relationship has been established both by the secular contract of betrothal between the two families and by the joining of the two individuals in the religious sacrament of marriage. In the first words of the service which refer to the bride and groom, the priest says, 'Let us pray to the Lord for his servants (X., Y.) who are now joining the one with the other for the common life of marriage.' The two individuals are now a social unity, a man-and-wife (ἀνδρόγυνο). It is not possible to help the one and not help the other, or withdraw support from one without withdrawing support from the other. Thus, the behaviour of both families at the 'return is necessarily oriented towards co-operation and forced goodwill.

585 602 At first conversation between the two families is stilted and formal, and restricted to neutral topics such as weather and taxes. The bride and groom, under the eyes of their respective affines, sit silent and constrained. But as the evening wears on,

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the wine and the dance produce a mellowing effect on the assembly; the groom begins to smile, and even the bride, with the merest flutter of her lips, tries to follow the singing.

One effect of this reunion of the bride with her people is to establish the interest of the bride's family in the new family which will be formed at the birth of the first child. The knowledge that the unborn children of the married pair will be affiliated equally to both their maternal and paternal relatives forces both sets of affines to act towards each other in a calculatingly friendly manner. However, this attitude is dictated not only by their common interest in the new family, but for reasons of prestige. Other people are uncharitably amused when a family is having in-law trouble (πιάστηκαν οι συμπέθεροι). In general both sets of affines try hard to conciliate one another and it follows that the attitudes of affines act as a strong sanction on a spouse in his or her actions within the marriage relationship. Similarly, in a wider sense, the attitude of one set of affines is a sanction for the correct conduct of the other set.

But what is undoubtedly uppermost in the minds of the bride's kinsmen at the 'return', is an anxiety to find out how the girl has been treated in general and in particular a certain malicious hope that perhaps the bridegroom has encountered some sexual difficulty. Conversely, the object of the groom's people is to deny the bride the opportunity to transmit this kind of information. A sister or brother's wife of the bridegroom is always a member of the groom's party; she sits close to the bride, and attends her every movement so far as good manners will allow. However, the young wife generally succeeds in whispering a few of the desired details into the ear of her mother or a sister; and every Sarakatsan woman is a mistress of the art of conveying meaning with her eyes.

In the morning the affines say farewell. No sooner have the echoes of the piously uttered sentiments of goodwill died away than each side indulges in a critical appraisal of what was said and done by the other side at the 'return'. The bride's family, in particular, may have some very interesting material to discuss whether it is fact or simply conjecture. Invariably the criticism is very unfriendly and reveals the hostility of the affinal relationship, a hostility, however, which must no longer be openly expressed.

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585 602 584 Betrothal, marriage, and the 'return' are the three stages in which affinal relations are fully established. The betrothal is the formal contract between the two hostile groups after which there is a period of separation while the two sides, like two opposed camps of war, prepare for the marriage. At the marriage the emphasis is still upon the distance which separates the two groups. Each family surrounded by its own kinsmen and affines celebrates the occasion apart. The two sides make contact only at the point where the groom comes to take away the bride. And this confrontation, although it is marked, as we have seen, by the expression of friendship as well as antagonism, is essentially characterized as a warlike descent.[1] The martial array of the groom's procession, the standard-bearer, the charge of the leading riders to the door of the bride's hut, and the deployment of the bride's supporters to repel this attack, all contribute to form this dramatic impression. After the marriage, until they meet generally two weeks later at the 'return', the two sides adjust themselves to the realities of a new situation. The groom's family try to help the bride overcome her loneliness and despair, while the bride's family, in a sense the defeated party, are anxious and sensitive about the treatment of the bride at her new home. The two groups, despite the inevitable undercurrents of animosity and suspicion, meet at the 'return' fully conscious of the necessity and the advantages of future co-operation.

3. THE OBLIGATIONS OF AFFINES

602 612 The recognition of affinal relationships is even more flexible than the recognition of cognatic kinship. Affinal relationship may be claimed not only with the elementary family of origin of a person's spouse, or the elementary family of origin of the wife or husband of any member in a person's kindred, but also with the entire kindred of the marriage partner. Consequently a man may, if it suits his convenience, describe himself as an affine of the second cousin of the spouse of his second cousin. Generally, however, a man limits his use of the term affine to the kindreds of his own wife, and of the marriage partners of his brothers and sisters, and to only the elementary families

[1] Cf. Chatzimichalis, op. cit., vol i, Part A, p. 200'.

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S G 648 S G 648 G 829 and groups in the village, the town, and the State, which have the power to threaten his interests. The officers and merchants with whom he must deal have a common quality that they stand outside the community's field of values. In the absence of strongly held universal values concerning the obligations of a man towards general humanity they feel free to exploit, or at least not to help, another person from whom they are divided by the absence of common ties of kinship, community, or class. If they have power, they see no reason why they should discipline themselves in its use towards a person from whom they are morally isolated.

S 571 648 To protect himself the Sarakatsanos tries to establish some kind of link which will transform an otherwise impersonal confrontation into a personal relation; that is, he attempts to draw the individual whose goodwill he wishes to influence into an institutionalized relationship which may exist across the frontiers of community and involves the person's self-esteem and to some extent the sanction of public opinion, so that he must discipline himself in the extent and manner in which he exercises his power. S 571 648 608 The most effective means of achieving these ends is the form of spiritual kinship between the bridegroom and his wedding sponsor (κουμπάρος). After the birth of a child this changes into the even more significant relation between the natural parent and the spiritual parent.

S 608 ●585 The duties of the wedding sponsor begin on the day of the wedding, throughout which he supports the bridegroom by his close presence both in the secular marriage custom and feasting, and at the religious services of betrothal and marriage. He stands at the right hand of the groom and it is his privilege to exchange three times the crowns of the bride and bridegroom. By his public sponsorship of the marriage he declares that it is an honourable union and that the partners are persons worthy to receive the sacrament of marriage; on the spiritual plane he becomes responsible for them. The relationship (κουμπαριά) which is established between the groom and his sponsor (and for which there seems to be no adequate modern English translation) does not end with the ceremony. It looks forward to the birth of children which is the explicit purpose of the marriage. S 608 851 It is the right and the duty of the wedding sponsor to stand for these children at their baptism, and consequently to enter a

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851 796 608 sacrament of Holy Chrism follows at once. In this rite the child is anointed with chrism, a consecrated unguent of many ingredients, on the forehead, eyes, nostrils, lips, ears, breast, hands, and feet; each time the priest says, 'The seal of the Gift of the Holy Spirit. Amen.' During the service the godfather holds the child.

851 563 608 At the beginning of the service the priest asks the godfather the name of the child. Although a father may give some hint of his preference, it is recognized that it is the absolute prerogative of the godfather to name the child. Generally, he follows tradition by naming the child after one of its grandparents or perhaps after the saint on whose day the Baptism occurs. As soon as the name is known small children rush from the church to the home of the parents to give the news and to be rewarded [551] with small coins or sugared sweets. In the child's home there is always some anxiety until this information is received, for a person's first name is in some peculiar way an important aspect of his individual personality; and it links him, also, to a particular saint to whom he will turn for protection.

851 608 At the end of the service those who have attended return with the godfather to the child's home where they offer their wishes for long life and prosperity. The godfather hands back the child to the mother and tells her, 'I return the child to you in this life; but I shall ask it back from you in the next. Protect it well from fire, water, and all evil.'

431 608 585 There are certain exchanges of gifts between spiritual kinsmen. The wedding sponsor makes a not inconsiderable outlay at a wedding. He must give the bride a dress, and a gift of money when he takes his leave at the end of the celebrations; he must provide the wedding crowns, the candles, and sugared almonds, as well as his share of bread, meat, and wine; he must tip the band generously when the bride, the bridegroom, and his close relatives are leading the dance; and he is responsible for the offering to the priest. The sum of these expenses is unlikely to be less than ten pounds. In return the bride gives the sponsor

431 608 the choicest blanket from her dowry. Later, as the godfather, he is expected to give his godchild a complete set of clothing, a gift which is generally offered when the child is one or two years old. It must be reciprocated by the child's family at the next Easter with the gift of a lamb with fleece dyed red, a round of

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
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'having pride', but also things. A shepherd's crook with a carved wooden handle is the privilege of respected heads of family. It has pride. A tselingas of high lineage trains a horse as a μπινέχι, an animal that will trot with the foreleg and hindleg moving together. Mounted on such a beast his pride is unassailable by lesser individuals. Other men might, without difficulty, train such an animal; a wage shepherd or a brother without an independent household might easily strut about the village square with a carved shepherd's crook in his hand. But these objects have pride only when a status has been achieved; they merely produce ridicule when it has been usurped.

The migrations between the plains and the mountains (particularly the spring journeys) are important occasions for the display of family pride, for then the entire community is on the road together with their flocks and their horses and mules. This is an opportunity to make a direct physical appraisal of a family, its bearing, and its wealth, in a way that at other times is not possible. 'For pride', on these occasions, horses and mules are decorated with coloured saddle-cloths, the sheep are loaded with large and sonorous bells; and if the spring shearing precedes the journey, one, two, or sometimes three long tufts of fleece (φοῦντες) are left on their backs. One or two late-born lambs that have been adopted as household pets are gaily decorated with lengths of coloured woollen cord. Despite the hardships of the journey, heat and dust in the spring, often continuous rain in the autumn, the men and women also give much attention to their own appearances. The women wear their best skirts, bodices, and shoes, the men are continually combing their hair and straightening their jackets. If a family has taken a new bride during the previous six months, this woman, decked in the finest clothes of her dowry, leads the first mule in the train so that she may be seen and remarked by all.

Similarly, a wedding is a setting for the display of pride. Men show pride in the dance by the dignity of their demeanour; each struggles to show himself first in skill and enthusiasm (μεραχλῆς). The visible pride of the riders in the bridegroom's procession brings prestige to his family, but also the individual riders vie with one another in the quality of their horses and accoutrements and the severity of their bearing. For pride,

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554 585 again, the dowry of the bride is formally presented article by article to the assembled guests, first at the bride's home, and afterwards at the home of the groom. For pride,

The display of pride is an important element in prestige but it must itself be based on reality. The pride of a Sarakatsanos may always be disproportionate in the view of other men but when it is wholly false it leads only to mockery.

* * *

183 577 554 The elements of prestige have been divided into two categories. The first category emphasizes the ideal equality, in the community, of families and individuals of the same sex and age group. Their ideal equality rests on the belief that most Sarakatsani have honour and are honourable, that they struggle to achieve in their lives ideal patterns of conduct. These elements of prestige require of the individual man or woman constant effort and self-discipline. An idea of the essential nobility of the Sarakatsani underlies them. The second category of elements of prestige are factors which to a considerable degree lie beyond the power of the individual, or even the group, to alter. They are all factors (numbers, wealth, leadership of co-operating groups, opportunities to show hospitality, lineage, marriage alliances, and the effective display of pride) which far from positing the ideal equality of families lead inevitably to their differentiation in terms of prestige. And, necessarily, they are caught up in ideas of fate, envy, and the fallen condition of this world.

The two categories of elements of prestige are nevertheless interdependent and both must figure in the evaluation of a family's total prestige. Without the imputation of honour and the quality of being honourable, wealth and numbers only represent a prestige which is, at best, equivocal. And weakness, or poverty, draws in its train doubts about the honour of a family, however socially conformist it may be.

6. THE SANCTIONS OF PRESTIGE VALUES

156 558 One sanction for the conduct, qualities, and achievements that have been presented as elements in the prestige of an individual, or a family, is the simple fact of the loss of this

pondered how I could get into conversation. Soon, with a clap of horny hands, he was summoning the *kafedji* and preparing to depart. The *kafedji* arrived laden with an armload of elaborate gear, and a boy followed leading a horse. The Sarakatsán mounted and laid his crook across his lap. The *kafedji* handed him two six-foot-tall candles, adorned with ribbons and fluttering white satin bows. Then followed all the frivolous-looking white baubles which, as I know to my cost, a *koumbaros* — the groomsman, sponsor, or best man — must contribute to the crowning of a groom and his bride at an Orthodox wedding. There were smaller candles, lengths of cloth in brown paper, parcels of sweets, and finally, the box containing the tinsel wedding crowns themselves. Suddenly my luck changed; as he moved off, a muslin bag of sugared almonds slipped and fell into the dust. I dived for it, ran after him, and, my luck still holding, remembered as I handed it over to utter the ritual phrase of a wedding guest to a *koumbaros*: "*Axioi tou misthou sou!*" ("May they be worthy of your hire!") He reined in, and placing his right hand over his heart, bowed his head in a ceremonious gesture of thanks. Then, after an up-and-down glance and a pause, he asked, in a queer rustic accent, what place I was from. When I had told him, I asked him where the wedding was to be. "Tomorrow at Sikarayia," he said, "two hours from here." After another pause, he said, "Honor us by coming." He repeated his graceful bow, and bristling with his crook and his candles and aflutter with satin ribbons, clattered off.

The carriage that bore us along a narrow-gauge track next day seemed as obsolete as an equipage in a museum. It was high and narrow, the coachwork was painted to mimic the graining of yellowwood, and the upholstery was threadbare tasseled velvet. This delightful carriage, fit for two travelers out of Jules Verne, carried us swaying through the Thracian sky at an abnormal height. The gorges and forests of plane trees, the rocky river beds, and even the scrub-mantled mountainsides seemed far below. Every so often we passed solitary police posts and lookout platforms on stilts, each one a pedestal for an armed and helmeted soldier; reminders of the nearness, and of the danger, of the Bulgarian frontier. Asprawl among the trees and bracken, blown there by guerrilla mines, the rusty remains of carriages were gloomy mementos of the civil war. The country shook in the noonday.

A jovial unshaven face appeared outside the moving windows, as though its owner were flying alongside. It was the ticket collector. When he

had pocketed our tickets, we watched him work his perilous way along the duckboard of the corridorless train like a cat burglar. A large open cattle car was hitched to the rear of the train. A sound of raucous singing was carried along the line, and a blue flag whirled overhead on a long pole. The conductor, settling in our carriage for a chat on his return journey, confirmed what we had surmised. "Yes, it's a Sarakatsán bridegroom on his way to a wedding up at Sikarayia. They've been drinking for days." When we pulled up at the next wayside halt, the whole party leaped, shouting and singing, to the platform, the banner aswirl, and bore down on a small group waiting under an acacia tree. The white-clad groom and his cronies returned a few moments later, carrying the bride, who was attired in a stiff black and white costume of angular and Aztec strangeness, by her elbows. She sailed along the platform with the passivity of a sacred image being transported from shrine to shrine. As the shaft of the standard-bearer's banner careered past, I saw that it was topped by a pomegranate, and the same fertility symbol was affixed to the top and the two arms of a beribboned wooden cross. When they were all aboard, the groom's party fired their guns into the sky, and singing and intermittent firing accompanied the rest of the journey.

"*Paraxenoi anthropoi*," vouchsafed the conductor, after clicking his tongue censoriously a dozen times. "Odd people —" They did seem a contrast to the lofty Victorian stateliness of our carriage. He told us that the groom was the son of a great *tsellingas* — the head of a clan, as it were, of Sarakatsán shepherds — in fact, an *architsellingas*, called Kosta Zogas, who wintered at Sikarayia and pastured his sheep in the Rhodope Mountains in summer, not far from the flocks of the bride's father, another *architsellingas*, called Vrysas, who wintered near Souphli, along the banks of the Hebrus. "You'd think," he went on, "when you see them in their rush hovels and their old capes, that they were poor. Not a bit of it! They've got pots of money. Literally pots. They fill up pitchers with gold sovereigns, and bury them — no one knows how many — whole fortunes in the ground."

SIKARAYIA turned out to be a village of beautifully thatched Sarakatsán huts. Giant beehives swelled and tapered in tiers of cropped reed which overlapped with the precision of the plating on armadilloes' backs, and all of them were topped by wooden crosses near holes in the thatch through which thin blue smoke curled. Black-clad Sara-

● 585 Black-clad Sarakatsáns crowded below the nuptial car, the bride was hoisted to earth, and in a hubbub of shouts and greetings and a rattle of musketry, the whole mob headed for the little white church. The train, letting off an answering whistle and an obbligato of steam, swayed away down the valley.

585 346 [223] Inside the church two rows of columns sustained the white barrel vault of the basilica. A gilt iconostasis blazed, and overhead hung a great candelabrum formed by double-headed brass Byzantine eagles joining their wing tips in a ring, and from the center an ostrich egg was suspended. The noise and the heat in the church were considerable, and thonged wooden flasks full of warm red wine circulated freely among the congregation.

585 301 292

585 [193] [242] [202] [142] The chanting of the priest — a fine figure in a white dalmatic and a wide blue and silver stole, with hair which uncoiled to his waist — soared heroically and effortlessly above this hubbub. All the faces were scorched, many were aquiline with blue eyes, and the hair of several nomads was bleached by the sun to a flaxen fairness. Apart from the priest, the only other grave faces were those of the bridal couple. The bride's with-

585 292 [202] drawn expression, her downcast eyes under her flowered headdress and a small blue cross which was strangely penciled or painted on her brow, never changed. The groom was dressed in a gold-embroidered red velvet waistcoat, a silk sash with the blue and white Greek colors, white jutting

585 292 fustanella and tights, and, disappointingly, pointed black towny shoes. His face, rather a commonplace one for a Sarakatsán, was a mask of confused virile seriousness. In only one thing did his [531] outfit differ from the full-dress Greek mountain costume: black woolen armlets, embroidered with specifically Sarakatsán geometric zigzags, encased his forearms below the wide white sleeves which ended at his elbow.

585 Despite the chaos in the church, the marriage service evolved unperturbed. The two enormous ribboned candles were held by minute shepherd boys, like the lances of heraldic supporters, on either side of a little altar in the body of the nave. The *koumbaros* switched the flimsy white flower crowns from head to head in a succession of intricate passes and arranged and rearranged their hands and bound them with ribbon and performed yet more complex manipulations with the ring, and followed them in kissing the bossy silver binding of the proffered missal. Finally he accompanied them, hand in hand, led by the priest under a fusillade of flung rice and sweets, in a slow and dignified dance thrice around the altar. This is a kind of hieratic pavane, which more than any other moment in the solemnization (for the wine that the priest offers to the bridal couple is no more than a commemoration of the wedding at Cana of Galilee) hallows and confirms the sacrament.

Out in the sunlight, all was levity, flourished banners, and gunfire again. We made our way through the wigwams to the house which the groom's father, striking modern roots in his winter pastures, had recently built. As the newly wed couple reached the threshold, someone handed the groom a sieve, which he threw over his shoulder, a measure which is said to forfend marital discord. They both kissed the hand of the groom's father and laid it to their foreheads for a second and [123] vanished indoors. My new friend of yesterday, [576] Barba Petro, introduced us to this pastoral dynast, who welcomed us with the same graceful inclination, with his hand laid on his breast, and led us in.

[352] There were already plenty of guests there, both on the low divan which ran around the room and cross-legged on the mats which padded the floor; [539] and at each new arrival, while black-swathed aunts and grandmothers offered the newcomers saucers with a spoonful of jam, a glass of water, and a thimbleful of raki, they intoned a welcoming song: "Mother, our friends have come," they sang, "our bidden guests. Bid them welcome with [576] honey and sugar and with golden words." Some sat with hands linked around their doubled-up

knees, others leaned back against the wall or the divan with a knee cocked up to support an outstretched arm, their fingers allowing the amber beads of a *komboloi* to fall at intervals of a few seconds. All were luxuriously asprawl and akimbo, and the company bristled with shepherd's crooks. They were laid across their laps or tilted at a slope over their shoulders. Some of the shepherds' crooks, staffs grasped by gnarled fists, stood bolt upright; others were propped against the wall; the top of each well-worn shaft was joined to a twirling hook carved in the shape of a dolphin, a ram's head, or a snake.

Only a couple of the guests were dressed in black kilts. The others wore rough and hairy black jodhpurs. A few of the wildest and shaggiest were shod in rawhide moccasins tilting up like canoes, worn over swaths of white wool bound about their ankles with broad thongs. All of them wore their soft black skullcaps rakishly askew. Except for the white and pleated bridegroom, who stood by the door receiving horny handshakes and whiskery embraces from the guests, nearly all the people in the room were middle-aged or stricken in years. They conversed at the top of their voices; used to shouting against the wind to each other from hilltop to hilltop, they find it hard to modulate their voices at close quarters, so the smallest talk is stentorian, and the only alternative is a collusive and almost inaudible whisper, to which they suddenly resort if they notice a look of suffering on their interlocutor's face.

Their thick rural tones sounded different from those of Thrace. They resembled, rather, the dialect of Roumeli and of parts of Epirus, much further west; an accent which consists of suppressing all final vowels and most of those in the middle of words as well, giving their speech an oddly chopped and consonantal ring. It was made harder to follow by a private vocabulary for the details of their calling. Different kinds of springs, qualities of grass, ways of hut building and bell tuning, breeds of sheep and goats and horses and watchdogs all have special names. They have their own expressions for the tupping, lambing, weaning, shearing, carding, spinning, milking, seething, scalding, path finding, tent pitching, camp striking, trough scooping, and weather divining around which their whole life turns. How should a layman know that the reddish- or dark-faced sheep are called *Katsoúla*, or that belling them is called "ironing" or "arming" them? Or how many *okas* of bronze, and of what pitch, should be slung around the neck of a bellwether? Or that the best time to arm the flocks

192
233 is at the Feast of the Annunciation, "when the first cuckoo is heard"? Such were the topics that boomed about the room.

233 Barba Petro pointed out the celebrities: "Uncle
221 George over there, with only one eye — he's one
103 of the biggest *tsellingas* in the Rhodope. Over ten
[494] thousand sheep and goats he's got, and I expect this is the first time he's been inside a house. The one talking to him is ninety-three, and he used to pasture his flocks near Saranta Ekklesies, or Forty Churches — Kirk Kilisse, the Turks call it — away, away beyond Adrianople. Then, after the [648] Balkan Wars, the Turks closed the frontier, so now he builds his winter huts along the coast, west of here, below Xanthi. The other one, with a scar on his forehead, used to winter between Haskovo and Stara Zagora — wonderful grass! — but now, what with the Bulgars, the horn wearers, he's had to look elsewhere. I had a few, but good ones. I used to graze them not far from Kios, in Bithynia, near Nicaea, on the Asian coast. That was years ago. Caïques sailing past in the Sea of Marmara could hear my bells. But the Rhodope is where we all belong."

101 I asked him what the name "Sarakatsán" meant, saying that I had heard it was really *Karakatchani*, a Turkish word meaning "the black ones who depart" or "the black departers." He shut his eyes and flung back his head, clicking his tongue in the negative. "No, no. That's not right. [173] We don't know, but some people say we get our name from the village of Syrako, in Epirus, and that Aly Pasha burned the place down and drove us away and left us wandering ever since." I said
101 Syrako was a Koutzovlach village. Uncle Petro
186 testily stabbed the butt of his crook into the mat several times. "I don't know anything about that. *We are Greeks*. Nothing to do with the Koutzovlachs. Who knows where they come from? You can't understand them when they are talking among themselves. People are always getting us mixed up, because we both wear black and graze [582] flocks. We keep clear of them. You'll never get a Sarakatsán marrying a Koutzovlach. Let alone a Karagouni. *Po, po, po!*" At the mention of these other tribes, he caught the hem of his jacket between finger and thumb in a Panhellenic gesture of squeamish disdain, and shook it lightly to and fro as though to rid it of dust and vermin.

● 585 The reiterated song of welcome, after gradually
262 swelling in volume as the room filled with guests,
[252] had stopped long ago. Low circular tables, laid
[263] with glasses and with communal dishes of roasted steaming lamb, skillfully hacked from the carcasses turning outside and sprinkled with rock salt, were

585 262 [273] being moved in and wedged among the company as tightly as jigsaw pieces. Wicker-bound demijohns of wine were beginning to travel from hand to hand overhead. Glasses clashed convivially together, miraculously filling up as soon as they were drained, and plates were returning again and again for second or third helpings. Outside the window, swarms of guests were feasting under the trees. Whole lambs were being flourished, sizzling and smoking on their spits, and we could hear the crash of cleaver on block and the crunch of hewn bones as a sinewy nomad toiled like a headsman to keep pace with two hundred magnificent appetites. [252] Nothing accompanied this delicious roast except cross sections of dark and excellent bread sliced from loaves like small millstones and hot from the domed ovens outside. [609] It was, in a way, a Stone Age banquet. Strangers, on occasions like these, are the objects of eager solicitude: special morsels, forkfuls of liver or kidney and even more recondite appendages, are constantly being proffered, and helpings of brain are delved from heads which have been bisected lengthwise and opened like a casket, each half, sometimes, still equipped with a twisting horn. Avoidance of the sheep's eyes is a recurrent problem for outsiders. They are highly prized by mountaineers, but for all but the most assimilated travelers, the message they signal from the prongs is one of harrowing reproach.

585 533 After an hour or so the general hum of talk sank to a single deep bourdon note which resolved itself into the opening phrases of a Klephtic song, the first stanza being sung by a group of two or three, and then repeated in a slow and long-drawn roar, starting with the vehemence of a lurch, by the rest of the shepherds. Rather surprisingly, so far from the Peloponnesus, it was about the great War of Independence leader, Kolokotrones. (I would have expected some more northern Klepht, and above all, Katsandónis, a Sarakatsán from the wild Agrapha Mountains.) [539] "Kolokotrones shouted," sang the nomads' voices, "and all the world trembled: 'Where are you, poor Nikitara, you whose feet are winged? Go, go and seize the Turks, drive them like hares into a trap, slay some and capture some, and lock some up in the castle. . . . At Antikorpha and Trikorpha the blood is flowing like a brook.'" This gave rise to another deep melopoeia from the south: "They have blocked all the roads of the Morea, they have sealed up all the passes." When the massed voices died down, the steady and unchanging note of the smaller group continued in a wail, setting up its own curious vibration. This comparative lull was always followed by the long deep cry of conjuration, "*Oré!*" ("Oh, you!" or "Hark!"), which ushers in most Klephtic stanzas, and another act from the

585 warlike past began, heckled and abetted by sud-
533 den ejaculations and shrill shepherds' whistles.

585 These Sarakatsáns were not great virtuosos, but
539 they had the merit of vigor and conviction. I was struck by one of their songs in which the last word, *Makarondátes* — a derogatory epithet for the Italians — had obviously, judging by the style of the words and the tune, replaced the name of some much older foe in order to fit the winter campaign of 1941: "Would that I had wings to soar on high, up to the topmost peaks of the mountains, to alight there and gaze down, down over Epirus and over poor Chimarra, to look down on the war, where the Greeks are fighting the *Makarondátes*." The modern ending was a bit of an anticlimax, especially after the mention of Chimarra, that warlike Greek stronghold in the Acroceraunian Mountains over the Albanian border, which is almost as celebrated for its martial stubbornness, in Turkish times, as Souli and the Sphakian Mountains of Crete. There was a distinct trace of anticlimax too, but also of oddity, about another of their songs: "Anyone who wants to go to America, let him sit down and ponder. Forty days at sea, days of sorrow and sighing. They get into a boat and go ashore in New York. They know nobody there, so back they wing like birds." A sad little tale, but most peculiar here because, although in most Greek gatherings of this size at least a half dozen would have spent a few years in Brooklyn or Chi-
[167] cago or Nebraska, Uncle Petro assured me that no one in the room had ever been to America, nor, as far as he knew, any Sarakatsán ever, and ideas of its whereabouts and character, for those who had heard its name, would be as hazy as a layman's notions of life on Mars.

585 During the banquet and the long procession of refilled glasses and the concatenation of songs, the falling shafts of sunlight from the windows had slanted horizontally and veered askew down the room; the long sunlit parallelograms on the opposite wall were turning an evening apricot hue. During these cheerful hours there had been no glimpse of the bride. "She's upstairs," Uncle Petro said, "we must go and look at her," and grasping the shaft of his upright crook like a punt pole, with joints momentarily acreak after a long session, he levered himself to his feet. "*Ta Gerámata!*" he said, with a smile, "old age." He led the way up the ladder staircase, and the clamor dwindled.

585 Dead silence reigned in the upper chamber.
583 The dowry was arranged along the two side walls: rolled bales of dark homespun for capes and for the bivouacs which are pitched on the march;

[p.78-B]

S 585 583 S [513] S 585 S [576] S [292] G 292 G [184] 000

a few of them white, some gray or a dark russet, but most of them black — the colors, indeed, of the flocks from which they had been shorn — and many of them of a matted and shaggy texture, like rolled-up smoke. Scratchy blankets with angular patterns were piled in tall heaps, and pillows that looked as hard as granite, and the bride's black and white trousseau. In the center of the end wall, with bowed head and lowered eyelids and with her brown hands crossed over her midriff, the bride stood motionless. On either side of her on the floor sat her retinue of wild but subdued-looking girls. At our conventional wishes, "*Kaloriziki!*" ("May the marriage be well rooted!"), she inclined her head a few inches but uttered never a syllable. Nor, beyond a stiff bow, did she or her lips move a fraction when other latecomers arrived and hobnobbed with Uncle Petro and us as indifferently as if the figures at the other end of the room were effigies in an ethnological museum. Their extraordinary outfits, nearly identical except for the flowers and the gold coins that adorned the bride, were unlike anything I had seen before.

In those Greek villages where the women wear their regional costumes on feast days and for ceremonies — and there are still a large, though diminishing, number — and in some out-of-the-way spots where a simpler working version of this gala rig is worn on weekdays as well, one is astonished by the richness and variety and grace: by voluminous skirts, expanding from tight waists, of Damascus brocade or Broussa velvet; by the soft and tilted mulberry-colored fezzes with long satin tassels, or gold-embroidered velvet pillboxes, or intricately arranged silk kerchiefs; even, in one part of Macedonia, by a headdress topped by a semicircular plume, like the helmet of Pallas Athene. There are satin-covered buttons, chased silver clasps, and oriental filigree from Yanina, and over the velvet boleros and the tight sleeves — or sleeves which may hang slashed and loose from the elbow like the petals of tulips — rivers of gold braid uncoil and ramify in flowing, oriental, baroque, and rococo flourishes as richly and elaborately as over an archbishop's cope. In the wilder mountains the costumes are stiffer and rougher, but the basic canon is a dazzling variety of color and material and a style that is fluid, feminine, and deeply romantic. The visions summoned up by

[p. 79-A]
[Text continues on p. 79-C]

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[p.79-B]

000 Byron's Haidée and the Maid of Athens are, in fact, pretty near the mark.

585 292 [286] [531] All was different here. Not only was there no silk, satin, velvet, or gold braid from the West and the Levant, but hardly a stitch which came from anywhere but the backs of their flocks and their prehistoric-looking looms, and complex though the costume was, there was not a single foliating curve or circle or ellipse, nothing swaying [301] or branching or interweaving or flowering. The only rounded things were the chains of necklaces, the gold Napoleons, Turkish sequins, and gold talers that hung around the bride's neck. Another latter-day curvilinear afterthought to the angular whole, and one which was common to both the bride and her retinue, was a wide white goffered or crocheted circular collar like a flattened, hidalgo's ruff, ending at the shoulder in scallops. The complex headdress of flowers and stiff muslin and the veil which hung down the bride's back had the extraneous and charming air of votive adornments attached to a processional statue on a Calabrian or Andalusian feast day. From a rosette over each of her ears a long cluster of ribbons hung; they framed her face like the pendants on the diadem of the Empress Theodora at Ravenna.

But, apart from these festival trimmings, all was made up of stern black and white lines and angles, and so broad and solid seeming were the black white-banded pleats that if any of the girls made a movement, her heavy and unwieldy clothes moved as unpliantly as armor. The aprons, which reached their knees, were as stiff as stoles or heralds' tabards, their tunics were as rigid as dalmatics, and nothing bore any relationship to conventional ideas of the human shape. The costumes were related to the curvature and the jointing of the human body as arbitrarily as are the plates of a metal fish to its prototype, the sections of a toy wooden snake, or the laminations of a samurai's armor. [304] [531] Their forearms and legs were encased in geometrically patterned armlets and greaves, and the bride's wrists were aclank with heavy bracelets, and all, strangely and touchingly, were shod in stout flat-heeled walking shoes. (Their mothers would have worn pomponned *tsarouchia*.) It was hard to determine, therefore, why these [531] clothes appeared so beautiful. They exerted, it finally dawned on us, the peculiar captivation of

585 292 531 ancient Greek vases of the geometric period, for every design was made up of straight lines and triangles, with here and there an inchoate beginning of those patterns of white crosses on a black ground, and black on white, that cover the vestments of frescoed prelates on the wall of a narthex. All was angular: triangles mounting in pyramids or shooting diagonally in zigzags and sawteeth and staircases with, very seldom, here and there, a small and subtly placed triangle or chevron, among the dominating black and white, of pale ocher, or terra-cotta, or a deadened blue. "Geometric" and "neolithic" were the epithets which began to float to the surface of the mind, bringing with them the excitement of the thought that these clothes and these designs might not have changed for three thousand years or more. One knows that these thoughts must be suppressed until they can be confirmed by research. But such dalliance is always stimulating. It was backed here by the certainty that nothing like these clothes exists in Greece or in the Balkan Peninsula or in Europe.

142 [302] The bride's face, with the blue cross on her forehead under black hair as coarse and lustrous as a stallion's tail and the stiff linen coif with its load of baubles and flowers, was burned a deep bronze. It had the metallic, wide-browed, heavy-lidded beauty, the slightly sad mouth, the clear line of jaw from chin to ear, and, springing from its flattened ruff and its stomacher of coins, the strong columnar neck which I admired so much, a few years ago, among the Mayas of the Honduranean and Guatemaltecan jungles. Obsidian, chalcedony, and basalt would have been the stones in which to carve those features and that still and melancholy posture. It is a type of looks which has an arresting distinction, a Gauguin-limbed strength at variance with the slender Tanagra delicacy that seems to have left an indelible stamp on Western ideas of grace and style.

585 [534] THERE was no time for more of these cogitations. The deep reedy blast of a clarinet sounded under the window; then, after a few twiddles, a violin and the twanging of a lute and a tentative fluttering tinkle of hammers over the wires of a zither. "Ah, the instruments," Uncle Petro said, "at last!"

[533] [648] I asked Petro if the musicians were Sarakatsáns. He looked at me in surprise. "Sarakatsáns? We only play the flute. They are Gypsies." And so they were, very dark ones, lined up outside under a tree in blue suits, wearing pointed black shoes and ties, the only ties for miles, and looking sleek and urban among these other nomads. There was a crunch of hobnails up the stairs as the

585 groom, flanked by his comrades, came to claim the bride and lead the first dance. She was reft from her shadows, conducted downstairs and out under the trees as the sun set at the end of the valley.

585 535 Her husband conducted her through an extremely formal *syrtos*, followed by a *kalamatiano*, each taking alternate places at the head of a dozen guests strung out, with linked hands, in a crescent. Neither looked at the other, and there was a distinct hint of constraint in the air — no wonder, since, though they came from neighboring summer pastures, it was quite likely they had never [584] met before. Their marriage was as free of private choice as a medieval dynastic alliance between a Wittelsbach and a Hohenstaufen.

585 It is hard not to wonder about the early phases of primitive marriages all over Greece; the shuddering apprehension which must prevail on the one hand and the unmanning strangeness on the other. Till very recently, in the Mani, so inhibiting was the shyness of newly wed strangers that a sword was placed under their pillow in the hopes that it might symbolically sunder this knot of 585 constraint in one Gordian slash. These handicaps 831 must have been made all the more debilitating, in former times, by gloomy preoccupations with the previous inviolacy of the bride, and the long vigil of the guests outside the nuptial dwelling till the groom's mother could blazon forth the all-clear in red on white — to an outburst of salvos and of rustic epithalamiums — on a gory sheet or a shift. In these strict and moral societies, such proofs were surely redundant; but I have heard of Cretan bridegrooms — convinced, and probably baselessly, that others have been beforehand with them — repudiating their brides and unloosing, as though in compensation, unstanchable bloodshed between families. And what about the poor bridegroom? Would the flood tide of wine swirl him triumphantly through all obstacles, or unmast him amidships? No wonder they looked shy. [202] Young Sarakatsáns now do their military service like the rest of Greeks and no doubt head for the lanes on the outskirts of garrison towns on mating [836] forays with their fellow recruits. But formerly, living in a ferociously chaste society, they approached wedlock unarmed by all but theory, hearsay, and rule of thumb.

585 535 Her two dances over, the bride withdrew to her chamber, and more general dancing began. It was uncomplicated, formal, and correct. Plenty of the younger Sarakatsáns were well on in wine and had been so for days, but their dash and high spirits deserted them the moment they joined the

585 535 long chain of the dancers. Their pace subsided to a ritual shuffle. There is nothing unusual in this; with a few exceptions, Greek dances, however many people may be joined hand in hand, are in effect solos — everything devolves on the leader, and each dancer, when his turn comes, fulfills the temporary role of coryphaeus. The job of the others, and especially of his immediate neighbor, to whom he is linked by a handkerchief, is to support him in his convolutions, and these are astonishing when a real mountain dasher is in the lead. But today, even after the first bridal saraband, the Dionysiac zest seemed to abandon the others when they linked hands. The dominance of form in the life of these nomads began to dawn on us.

585 Outside this semicircle, however, all was rejoicing. Staidness evaporated on release, and scores of young nomads were carousing and reeling under [535] the branches. Squatting or standing among the wigwams, rings of geometrical women confabulated or sang together, and there was even an ex- [283] clusive little ellipse of dancing women. Their gatherings were abristle — like those of the men with their crooks — with the carved distaffs tucked in their belts, all cloudy with rough hanks of raw wool, the spindles rising and falling at the end [854] of their twirling threads. Some of the younger of these spinning squaws had wooden cradles slung papooselike on their backs, each containing [533] a miniature nomad. Their songs had the same epic themes, laced with lament, as those of the men. The murmur of their talk was broken, again and again, with peals of laughter.

The Sarakatsánissas, usually so silent in the

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[p.81-A]

585 The Sarakatsáneissas, usually so silent in the
521 presence of men, look forward to weddings as
831 their only chances of fun. The talk takes a turn
[362] of hair-raising bawdiness. None of the exciting,
comic, or absurd aspects of sex are left unex-
ploited. Rhymes, anecdotes, and reminiscences
are eagerly repeated and capped, crone mumbles
toothlessly to crone, bantering wives make humor-
ously boastful and teasing comparisons about their
married lives, girls listen wide-eyed and agog.
[152] Fits of laughter punctuate this scandalous chat,
hands are flung in the air in hilarity, faces are
covered in mock shame. All this goes on out of
male earshot, while at a distance their husbands
and fathers and descendants smile indulgently
at this seasonable ribaldry.

585 NIGHTFALL had transformed the scene indoors.
123 Late arrivals and a few indefatigable ones were
[354] still at meat; but the rest, lit now by scattered oil
dips, had lapsed into a semitrance of wine and
song. Our return with Uncle Petro evoked hos-
pitable cries of greeting and invitation, repeated
many times and driven home by a clashing of wine
tumblers, to stay the night, as it was so late; or for
a week, a month, or a year, or forever, to forget
London and take to the huts. Alas, some tiresome
fixture in Alexandroupolis next morning com-
pelled us to leave, so, after manifold farewells, we
climbed the stairs to pay our respects to the bride
in her hushed upper chamber.

The rushlight on a stool cast so dim a light that
the group at the end was hard to discern. One
of the seated bridesmaids, mown down by her
vigil, was fast asleep where she sat; a nudge from
her neighbor shook her blinking into line. None
of the other tiring women had moved, and the
bride had remained frozen for the hours since
we had last seen her in the same posture of sub-
mission. The faint radiance seemed to have
robbed them all of a dimension. Darkly haloed
by their own interlocking shadows, they merged
with the wall, their black and white figures assum-
ing the aspect of a half-lit fresco, with here and
there an earring, a coin, a bracelet, a ring, or a
necklace glittering momentarily and dimming
again, as the wick rose or fell, like fragments of gilt
or isolated gold tesserae in a mosaic. The bride
silently bowed in answer to our farewells, miracu-
lously moving among her still hagiographic troop
of virgins and martyrs. We tiptoed out.

"Doesn't she ever speak?" I asked Uncle Petro
when we were out of doors.

"Not now," he said.

"It's rather sad, during her own wedding."

"Ah! That's the way it is. That's how it should
be."

[p. 81-8]

585 By the light of the fires among the huts, the scene out of doors was assuming a Brueghelish aspect. The dancers were still sedately moving in silhouette, a last spitted lamb was turning over a bed of glowing charcoal, and groups of nomads were staggering about arm in arm, filling the night with cries and laughter. Overcome by wine or exhaustion, a few of them lay fast asleep under the branches in disjointed attitudes, as though snipers had laid them low in mid-career. A heroic but unsteady figure, egged on by his companions, was draining, with head and trunk flung back, the last dregs from an immense wicker-cradled demijohn. Empty, it fell to the ground with a thud and rolled away amid cheers. A flaxen-haired boy, bent double against a tree trunk, vomited the day's intake in a somber gush. Chewing and snarling sheep dogs wrangled over bones.

[354] The huts, vague globes looming out of the night, were now softly lit from within by the glimmer of oil dips and hearths. Deeper still in the darkness, one divined the presence of tethered horses. The singing grew fainter as we reached the railway line.

585 178 "You should have seen the weddings when I was a boy," Barba Petro was saying, as the serpent of lighted train windows grew larger down the valley. "We used to set out on horseback a hundred strong to carry off the bride, firing off our guns as fast as we could load them. *Dang! Dang! Boom! Boom! Dang!* Horses used to be lamed, people wounded, sometimes people actually got killed. Whereas now —"

123 The train had clanked to a standstill beside us. We were aloft once more among the anachronistic fringes and tassels of our Victorian carriage.

"Come to see us up in the mountains, up in the Rhodope!" he shouted as the train began to move. "The plains are no good." He pointed with his crook into the night. "Up in the Rhodope —"

The wheels drowned the rest. The light from the carriage windows flashed down across his dwindling figure at quicker intervals, and the glimmering huts and the fires and the tiny moving silhouettes behind him looked as strange now and as alien to Europe as a nomadic encampment in the steppes of central Asia.

114 WHAT I could not know about these extraordinary people at the time of my visit to Sikarayia, I learned two years ago, when Mrs. Angelica Hadjimichalis' two quarto volumes, *I Sarakatsáni*, appeared. A long lifetime of devotion and study, a great knowledge of the Greek past and Greek art history, and many decades of research and fieldwork among the Sarakatsáns themselves have been

from the grave and haunts the folds and blights the pastures.

A recent unpublished source casts new light on the obscure drama of nomad marriages. I have mentioned in reference to the Mani the sword which, by sympathetic magic, is said to cleave asunder the bonds of fear and shyness between the two married strangers when they are finally alone together. In Sarakatsán embraces, a blade plays a still more immediate role. Alone in the hut, lying on cut branches padded with blankets — for there is never a bridal bed or a sheet and only the strictest minimum of undressing — the groom, with a sudden masterful swoop, leaps athwart the bride, seizes her by the scruff of her neck, and with bared teeth and burning eyes, lays the edge of a dagger at her throat. Most strangely, this time-honored stratagem works; timidity boils up into hot blood on either side, confusion is ripped to shreds, the dagger is flung away, and the union is driven home and fiercely clinched in a lightning tussle.

The nomad approach to all feminine physiological troubles is primitive, deep, and dark. They never undress — all exposure is anathema to them — and there is some truth in the village rumors that they never wash. Oddly, they scarcely smell at all, perhaps because of the time-stiffened carapace of clothing which encases them. The author of the unpublished material I have already mentioned was present at the death of an old Sarakatsánissa. There was no undoing the thick geometric livery in which she was cocooned, so it was torn open with a knife, sending the bystanders reeling back like the people depicted on icons at the Raising of Lazarus. When she marries, a girl is no longer a member of her own family, and sometimes she never sees it again; she is a slave to her husband and his womenfolk, a stranger in strangers' tents. It was the rule in the stern old days that no wife should address her husband in the first years of her marriage; he, in his turn, would never call her by name; and many years and many births had to pass before they would converse in public.

Charon, Death, is a permanent presence and the most natural of companions. A nomad who perishes in the mountains goes unhouseled and unaneled. If he should die on the road — and the nomads' two yearly migrations, geared to the slow gait of the flocks, may take twenty-five or thirty days — he is laid across a pack beast, and after the body is unloaded, a candle is lit for him three evenings running and a cup of wine placed "for his soul to drink from." If a *tsellingas* falls mortally ill, the bells are muffled; and if he dies, all the animals, even the bellwethers, are disarmed in mourning. When men turn fifty and women thirty, all the nomads, however hale they are,

361 /24 cont./
233 to the general technology of sheep herders and not to space.

233 It remains for us to speak of the pastures and of dispositions relating, in a general way, to the feeding of the animals. The examination of this problem will be part of the study of the technology of herding.

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621 The social incidence of all the phenomena described is very
[163] important. The high birth rate and longevity contribute to the
[165] creation of large families and long lineages. There follows from this a question of organization and economic expectations. For the
[888] same reasons, the category of "the aged" becomes large. The situation and social condition of this class, whose presence necessarily complicates social differentiation, constitutes a separate question.

621 The /seasonal/ migrations cause variations of intensity in
233 Sarakatsani social life. The summer encampment, divided in two as
221 we have seen, brings about a separation of active men from women. The first occupy themselves exclusively with herding following the flocks. The second remain in the encampment. On the other hand, during the winter, men and women live together. Thus, the large festivals, the
[796] celebration of marriages, the collective performance of certain rites
[585] of a magico-religious order take place only within the framework of the winter set-up, never during the summer. The calendar that prescribes all these activities and is established on the basis of the socio-economic occupations of this people, and therefore in accordance with the times when the participation of all proves possible. (18)

18. See below, the chapters devoted to magic and religion.

233 Finally, the displacements also involve contacts with the
361 surrounding society through which the Sarakatsani pass; a certain
197 number of measures and arrangements assure the successful outcome of the encounter.

/135 cont./

602 57 182 Nevertheless, before going further, we should emphasize that our account would be incomplete if we did not mention particularly a complementary but interesting aspect of all the practices that we have cited: once having entered the system of kinship and alliances, the individual as well as the group find themselves socially labeled and classified once and for all, and know from then on who are their friends or possible adversaries. Hence/comes/ a feeling of security and integration, constituting a solid basis for the development of their relationships and their social activity.

585 602 /136/ The Principles of Married Life.

The life of the two spouses complies with some principles of extreme importance for the understanding of Sarakatsani society. The folklore of marriage, on the one hand, and some examples of the spouses' behavior, on the other, are very revealing in this respect.

[529] [474] [605] [572] [492] The day of the nuptials, which is always a Sunday, a procession made up of the fiance's male and female cousins, as well as his friends (namely, the young people of the Tseligato) forms at his house. All these people proceed on horseback to the dwelling of the fiancee, where they must take the latter and lead her to the abode of her future husband to celebrate the nuptials.

585 602 536 [583] Having arrived at the home of the young girl and while the women step aside, the men of the procession confront the men of the future wife's family. The two sides are armed. A mock battle is then engaged in, the companions of the fiance pretending that they want to carry away the young girl by force. In the course of this battle a goodly number of shots are fired on both sides. Afterwards the men of the fiancee's party withdraw as though "beaten" and a song follows the battle, simulating a [533] [539] dialogue between the future spouses:

--Awake pretty girl with eyes of a young partridge
I have come to your dwelling...
--Since you are here, be welcome
There is a place for you...(etc.).

/136 cont./

583 174 What must we conclude from this mock abduction? Must we assume that this custom, which goes back to a very remote past, (17)

[113] 17. See Plutarch: Lycurgue: 15. --M. Delcourt: Hephaistos, p. 195-200.--R. Flacelière: La vie quotidienne en Grèce, p. 84.

constitutes merely a picturesque survival of the practices of an epoch when, in order to get women, it was truly necessary to abduct them?

583 178 It is very probable that this explanation could be correct. However, it is also true that a society preserves old practices only to the extent that the latter fulfill functions which are indispensable to its life. In this case, it very often gives them a different meaning from the original meaning.

583 182 (613) /137/ Now it seems to us that this abduction represents at one and the same time a symbol and a lesson, addressed both to the newly married woman and to the society as a whole: henceforth the fiancee must consider herself uprooted from her paternal family and integrated once and for all into the lineage of her husband. Moreover, she learns that the woman, [593] [562] "vanquished" in the game of marriage, owes obedience and respect to her husband whose relationship to her is that of a master.

583 585 562 That this interpretation is correct is attested by a certain number of facts.

[533] [539] First, let us mention to begin with a couplet which the women sing during the wedding feast for the benefit of the bride:

--And you marrying, subject yourself
For such is the divine wish...(18)

18. Reported by B. Skafidias: Ibid., p. 58.

[533] [602] [539] Second, once arrived at the dwelling of her husband, the young wife is obliged to kiss the hands of all the relatives of the latter, whatever their age, in order thus to express her "respect" toward her new family, while all present address her singing:

583 /137 cont./
585 --In your new dwelling you must conduct yourself
602 In impeccable fashion and bright
533 As the sun and the moon...
539 You must prostrate yourself,
562 You must honor your mother-in-law.
And all the relatives of your husband,
If you wish to be honored by all
And thought well of in the entire world...

562 583 Third, the wife is the only individual who does not take part in
585 the wedding feast. Withdrawn in a corner, her head lowered to show her
602 submission and her piety, fixed in a "modest pose," she must above all
261 take care not to consume anything whatever. In addition for three days,
[516] custom has imposed on her a regime of strict abstinence so that her physiological needs stop. Carrying them out would constitute an insult to her new family.

583 Fourthly, the wife is all alone when she makes her permanent
585 departure from her paternal home. None of her relatives accompany her.
602 Her /138/ family attend neither the celebration of the marriage nor the
593 banquet. According to some, her parents organize a banquet at their house.
562 According to others, they do not celebrate the marriage of their daughter,
[178] but rather take on an attitude of mourning. It seems that the first version reflects most recent practices, while the second relates to former times. What is certain is that the wife must, along with her husband, pay a visit to her relatives eight days after the marriage. However, it may very well be that this visit does not recur again subsequently, especially if the respective kin groups of her husband and her parents migrate to regions far apart from one another. One even tells of a Sarakatsani woman who did not have an opportunity to see her paternal family again for 30 years.

593 We note therefore that the uprooting of the wife from her family,
562 her absolute submission to her husband and to the latter's kin and the
594 domination that her husband exerts over her are indisputable. An anecdote

/138 cont./

593 562 594 that the Sarakatsani voluntarily tell corroborates these assertions: the mayor of a village one day asked one of the men under him the name of his wife. But the latter did not reply. He had completely forgotten it.

[551] [553] The personality of the wife is so absorbed by that of her husband that she even loses her first name; she is henceforth given the first name of her husband put in the feminine gender.

583 593 562 594 [586] Now the abduction confirms the rule of that the woman is controlled by the society. Until then at the disposal of her father, she places herself henceforth at the disposal of her husband. That is furthermore why, when we speak of divorce, we are putting ourselves in an opposite perspective, which is inconceivable in the world of Sarakatsani values.

583 585 562 [182] [533] It thus seems to us altogether certain that the Sarakatsani marriage ritual is the expression of a coherent and solid set of well-rounded attitudes. In this connection, and even at the risk of repeating what is known, we should like to quote another Sarakatsani song sung by the women friends of the wife at the time when they dress the latter.

[538] [539] Simulating throughout a dialogue between the wife and the audience, it says:

--Oh! Thou lavishly dressed
Whoever has covered you with finery
And who has made you beautiful as the turtle dove?

/139/ --It is my father, my mother, my sisters, my brothers (etc.)
Who have covered me with finery
And have made me beautiful as the turtle dove...(etc.).

This song, which shows proof of the consent of the parents to the marriage, makes it public, as it were, and leaves no doubt about the true nature of the abduction.

[593] [594] Nevertheless, the principle of the wife's submission to her husband expresses only one part of the relations between the spouses.

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585 602 848 562 We have spoken previously of the public consent of the bride's kin, the significance of which, beyond what we have pointed out, consists of granting to the marriage of the young girl all the guarantees of legitimacy and convention. It seems to us that this act presupposes a rule according to which "the children born from a proper marriage are legitimate."

However, though on this point we can proceed only by hypothesis, since the Sarakatsani do not express themselves, they are fortunately a certain number of practices which leave no doubt as to their function and which we shall now enumerate:

[221] [492] [484] First, in the course of the seasonal migration, if there is a new bride in the group, it is she who, on horseback, rides at the head of the caravan.

[554] [474] When one realizes that only the chief of the Tséligato has the privilege of traveling mounted while everybody else goes on foot, we understand that this distinction granted the bride has a profound significance. This significance cannot be reduced to the desire of the Sarakatsani to honor the bride, as was formerly maintained. (20)

20. See Hadjimichali: Ibid., A. I, p.

Neither in the ritual of marriage nor in the family life as such does one find anything that can justify such an attitude with regard to the bride.

On the contrary, we have seen that everything tends to place the latter in an inferior position. Now, the practices found in a traditional society cannot be mutually contradictory. They always form coherent systems, and it is obvious that where one thinks one sees apparent contradictions, there is in fact a profound and sometimes hidden reason that guarantees the equilibrium and the cohesion of the system in question.

Our conclusions about the social functions of marriage (to insure collaborators and friends among lineages) explain this phenomenon.

/140 cont./

585 602 848 562 613 The wife is solemnly presented "to the city and the world," surrounded and chaperoned by her new lineage, in such a way that everybody knows that she belongs to this lineage and that her descendants are now and henceforward known by it as legitimate.

585 602 /141/ However, since certain points here may still be obscure, let us continue our analysis:

[591] Secondly, the young couple, as we have also seen, settles down in [342] the hut where the paternal family of the husband lives. In view of the fact that Sarakatsani huts are not partitioned and that everybody sleeps on the floor around the hearth, it is easy to understand that the wedding night is spent--in the midst of the family!

585 833 602 In order to justify this practice, the Sarakatsani say that "the sexual act between the spouses should be carried out in the bosom of the family." Moreover, the same holds true for all the couples in the family.

The Sarakatsani reply to the astonished investigator "that the newly married couple do not wear bells" that therefore this act occurs unperceived by the others...However, that is the anecdotal aspect of the matter.

597 834 831 To suppress the barriers of modesty, above all within the framework of this society where morals are very strict, where bold allusions, especially in front of women, are forbidden, (21)

> 21. We ourselves were present at the following scene:
> [593] One evening, the old head of the family, warmed by wine, started to tell a bawdy story. Whereupon his sons, despite the respect they owed him, protested to such an extent that the old man fell silent.

where one never even speaks of the sexual life (the account of magic rites in connection with fertility will furnish an illustration of this), is not a simple and easy act.

/143 cont./

585 593 533 [539] Furthermore, during the preparations for marriage, and specifically at the moment when, in the hut of the future husband or the future wife, the wedding pastries are kneaded and baked, the company sings, always on behalf of the persons concerned, the following couplet:

--Bless me my beloved mother.

--My blessings go with you my daughter (or my son)
May God grant you good fortune and prosperity.

This song shows that the mother is held in high regard. For she has the power to bless or curse her children and therefore exerts an evil as well as a beneficent influence on their destiny.

593 594 The result is that a son owes his mother respect and affection, on the one hand because she has brought him into the world and reared him on the other hand because of her quasi-magical power over his future, as well as that of his brothers.

Moreover, the son must protect and help his mother and take care of her. When his father dies, it is he who takes charge of his mother and occupies toward her the place of the deceased.

As a result, the son is at one and the same time subordinate and superior to his mother, or, what amounts to the same thing, he plays toward her sometimes the part of a son, and sometimes the part of an elder brother - an ambiguous situation no doubt, but a real one.

593 562 594 Obviously, the sisters occupy a position inferior to that of their brothers, even when the latter are younger. And the brothers exert a kind of paternal authority over them. The male sex here once more affirms its superiority over the weaker sex.

[264] /144/ All these matters of precedence are expressed in condensed form in another rule of family and social life in general, which says that women do not have the right to sit down at the same table as the men--whether their husbands, their brothers, their sons, relatives, or guests and friends. (22) In the group of male children, as well as in

561 594

/148 cont./

121 Sarakatsani culture has created enough loopholes so that discipline
593 and family hierarchical order does not degenerate into veritable slavery
594 for its members. (23)

23. This idea is not at all anthropomorphic. It merely conforms to the point of view that has guided the course of this work. Besides, for us, all the manifestations of a given society arise from the action of its elements and from their dialectical combinations, and are therefore products of its collective consciousness.

121 On the contrary: the dialectic of obligation and compensation smooths
182 out discontent, mollifies oppositions and tensions and permits survival,
593 so to speak, and prevents the explosion of the context in which this
594 phenomenon unfolds. As a result, this same phenomenon must be classified among the causes to be found at the root of the structuring of the Sarakatsani family, and it is in this sense that one must proceed to an appreciation of its social and collective significance.

121 That these assertions cannot be reduced, after all, to an /149/
182 arbitrary construction based on a formal and abstract logic, but that
593 they express factual reality, becomes unquestionably evident from a
594 couplet which the women sing in the course of the marriage ceremony:
533 --O wife! May you have sons
585 So that one day they may subjugate other women...(24)
[539]

24. See B. Skafidas: Ibid., p. 58.

Lines full of bitterness, no doubt, but in which the apparent resignation is backed up by the hope of future compensation which, although indirect and more of less uncertain, at least lightens the difficult lot of the married woman and makes it bearable for her.

121 The Sarakatsani are conscious of this interplay. They accept it
182 and make the best of it.
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/170 cont./

596 626 may express sentiments that they really feel, but those "that should be felt," expressed in a manner "allowed" by traditional prescription. [585] [593] Though the study of marriage has already furnished us with some examples (for instance, the "dialogues" between the mother and daughter at the moment of separation, spoken by the chorus of assistants), the study of mourning, of laments, of art, will offer us others.

Finally, /it does so/ by the application of the rules of justice and morality with which it is entrusted and of which we shall not speak for the moment in order not to anticipate.

That each social group exerts its "control" over component members, sub-groups or individuals, is a well-known phenomenon. If we have wished to throw into special relief the social control exercised by the extended family it is because the latter is the principal carrier of Sarakatsani life, therefore the repository of their culture which justifies its elevation to the rank of "guardian of the past--guarantor or the future."

596 613 The Character of the Extended Family.

The extended family is not an "undivided family." The latter actually includes at one and the same time all the descendants and all the lineages, agnatic as well as uterine, joining them together into an egalitarian community. (40)

[113] 40. See G. Davy: Sociologues d'hier et d'aujourd'hui, part 2, La famille et la parenté d'après Durkheim, p. 109.

596 171 Nor is it a "great family" like the "joint /171/ family" /cited in English/ or the Kharouba Kabyle" (41)

[113] 41. See M. Mauss: Manuel d'Ethnographie, p. 135-136; Chandrasekhar: The Hindu "joint family" /cited in English/ in the journal Social Forces /cited in Engl./, XXI, 1943, p. 327 f.; Maunier, R.: Mélanges de Sociologie Africaine, p. 63 f.

/249 cont./

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Fig. 100

842 skirt, her bodice, her stockings and her knitted sleeves are bordered
531 with geometric motifs, the predominant one being the cross. The central motif, as well as the secondary motifs surrounding it are variations of the same symbol (see figures 84-87). A The Sarakatsani call them indiscriminately "moons." These same "moons" are found on the wedding pastry
[262] [585] prepared for the wife, but this time in the shape of a four-petal rose of spirals or interlaced lines in relief (see figure 100). The study of this cake will be the subject of a special paragraph.

844 /250/ A second point to be emphasized concerns childbirth practices.
602 The mother-to-be, assisted by the women of the family (the men must absent themselves at this time), gets on her knees on the ground close to the hearth where a very bright fire is burning. When the child arrives the oldest of the assisting women puts her hand under the skirt of the mother (who does not undress) and receives the child. The placenta, when it has
[783] come out, is removed by the aunt on the father's side, or secondarily by the aunt on the mother's side, and after having been fumigated with incense, is buried behind the hut in a corner where neither men nor impure animals may walk.

A. /See p.119--Analyst/

842 /250 cont./
821 By wearing them or coming in contact with them one benefits from their
823 virtues.
372
825

/251/ In practice all this is interpreted as follows: the decoration
531 of the skirt and the bride's cake serve as the lunar amulets. Giving birth
262 on the ground and in the posture in which the ancient goddess of birth
585 Eilithyia /Artemis/ is shown insures for the child the advantages which
844 come from contact with the earth. (9)
896

9. See B. Nyberg: Kind und Erde, p. 207 f.--Birth by proximity, according to M. Eliade: Ibid., p. 265.--Van der Leeuw: Ibid., p. 119.--Monolina Marconi: Riflessi mediterranei /Mediterranean reflections/, p. 254 f. p. 254 f.--Marie Delacourt: Stérilité, p. 31 f.

844 The placenta which has nourished the child until then returns to the earth
854 where a new life will rise again (10)

10. G. Van der Leeuw: Ibid., p. 45.

(the position of the deceased directly on the ground and his commemoration by means of the grain which is buried and comes to life again symbolize the same life cycle). (11)

11. J. Przyluski: La grande déesse, p. 124 f.--G. Van der Leeuw: Ibid., p. 87.--P.M. Schuhl: La formation de la pensée grecque, p. 211.

372 The healing, invigorating fire which makes mortals immortal and which is
844 born from two pieces of wood representing the two sexes, (12)
842

12. G. Van der Leeuw: Ibid., p. 49, also citing Ad. Kuhn: Die Herabkunft des Feuers und der /sic--should be: das/ Göttertranks, p. 64 f.

protects the mother who gives birth in front of it, as well as the newborn child. (13) Moreover, it encourages a new impregnation by the burial of the

13. W. Mannhardt: Antike Wald und Feldkulte, p. 503.

/254 cont./

In the case of our herders this syncretism takes concrete form in practices such as the fumigation of the placenta with incense so that evil spirits will not attack it (Judeo-Christian belief), or the period of forty days during which the head of the viper must remain in a church before being worn as an amulet, that is to say, during the period necessary for the celebration of forty services.

That is not all. Originally present in the rites that we have enumerated, the Mother-Goddess has become "deprived of all that made her unique" in the past; she is "de-individualized," according to the apt expression of R. Bastide, to become a force symbolized in acts and operating as such on other forces. (20)

20. See R. Bastide: Ibid., p. 18, where the author, in connection with Greco-Roman magic, treats the question of the de-individualization of gods by magic. Farther on, on p. 296, will be found supplementary observations on this evolution.

Thus, by way of conclusion, /let us say that/ in order to promote fertility, the Sarakatsani appeal to forces related to the belief in the Mother-Goddess. But the presence of the latter in the corresponding ritual is only discernible if one goes back to very remote times, for some of these avatars survive in the symbolism of various practices and the effectiveness of the latter derives from them; over time, some of these practices have taken on a Christian coloring.

In the pages that follow we shall again find these same ideas incorporated in other facets of Sarakatsani magic. For the moment we have yet to describe the practices which promote fertility indirectly.

There are, first of all, some observances concerning the day of conception. If the festivities of the wedding (which sometimes last several days) end on Monday evening, the women of the family keep the bride close by so that her husband will not touch her, since this night forms part of

842 /254 cont./
797 Tuesday--a day considered unlucky. Marital relations likewise, are
[585] forbidden on Saturday /255/ and Sunday. (21) Children conceived on
[833] Tuesday are very unlucky. They are born with defects. Such is the
[171] case of the hunchback, the lame, the one-eyed, the deaf-mute, etc.

21. It is very difficult to explain these prohibitions. According to a belief very widespread in Greece, Tuesday is an unlucky day because Constantinople fell into the hands of the Turks on a Tuesday. Yet it is certain that it was already considered unlucky before the fall of the Empire.

[171] vol. I, p. 42.--As for Saturday, it should be said that in many regions of Greece it is considered the day most favorable for magic. In others the prohibition of sexual relations is due to the fact that Saturday and Sunday are days meant for religious duties, and therefore he should refrain from unchastity.

these days are supposed to be burdened with defects. On the other hand, those who are conceived on a Monday are gifted with health and exceptional intelligence.

843 When a child is conceived, the mother-to-be must protect herself
789 against a miscarriage. To this end two methods are prescribed. The first
[824] consists of making an amulet: flowers of the willow are placed in a small bag which the woman wears. The second is more complicated: three women, all called "Mary" (the name of the Holy Virgin, mother of God) make a rope composed of three strands of wool previously fashioned by each of them. Having finished the rope, they make several knots in it and place it around the waist of the mother-to-be. (22)

22. Cited by Madame Hadjimichali: Ibid., A.I. p.

The symbolic efficacy of these methods is in the use of the willow and the rope as "bonds," (23) therefore also capable of binding together the mother

[342] 23. It will be recalled that the parts of the hut
[824] frame are tied with willow. On the magic of the "knots" see M. Eliade: Images et Symboles, p. 145.

533 /261 cont./
796 the Great Goddess, the Dioscuri, the sun and the moon.
789 --M. Eliade: Ibid., p. 132, says that "Helios is also
796 titan, epiphany of generative forces...In Crete, Helios
[171] is taurin and becomes the spouse of the Great Mother"...
"in addition he maintained relations with the chosen
world of darkness: sorcery and the underworld." Also,
he is connected with the snake.

[821] the moon and the snake are all summoned to fulfill auspicious functions
[825] as we know. On this point it is necessary to specify that in this verse
796 there is no contradiction between the invocation of the influence of the
789 sun which drives away the chthonian spirits and that of the snake, al-
821 though the latter is a personification of chthonian forces. In magic
825 rites in general, moreover, the direction of every force evoked is exerted
533 depends upon the orientation /262/ that the practitioner assigns to it. (36)

36. M. Eliade: Images et Symboles, p. 147.--
See also the preceding footnote on the sun-
serpent relations.

796 The coherence of the song is therefore absolutely safeguarded. Finally,
789 the last lines that speak of the stones of the house are the result of
533 acculturation, a borrowing of verses sung under the same circumstances by
177 young people in surrounding society. (37)

[529] 37. These are popular songs sung on Christmas Eve
and New Year's day, which include wishes for the
domus and hence for the longevity of the inhabitants.

771 The syncretism with Christianity of these more ancient ideas which
796 have given rise to these ceremonies is obvious.
178

789 Now, the theme of abundance finds considerable support in the practices
we have just described, since in general where there is fertility, abundance
[782] follows. Moreover, certain parts of these same practices are directly con-
[796] cerned with it (offerings at the springs--parts of the scenario of Epiphany,
[585] etc.). But there is more: there is the ritual performed by the bride at

/262 cont./

789
585 the time of the nuptials, which begins with the pastry decorated in the manner referred to above. With this ritual we gradually move away from the circle of ideas dealing with the Mother-Goddess and enter another, as we shall see presently.

We know that during the solemn preparation of this pastry the blessing and the wishes of the nearest relatives (father, mother, brothers, sisters, etc.) are sought. The mystic power of the word of those who are best disposed to utter it is thus combined with the presence of the grain transformed into flour and then bread, the symbol of subsistence. Added to it is the potency of the coin that the attendants throw into a receptacle when the wishes are formulated--a potency that we shall examine farther on. However, this is only one part of the rites. The other part takes place the very day of the nuptials. When the bride arrives in front of the hut of the groom, and before she dismounts from her horse, she breaks her pastry on her head, without using a knife, into four pieces which she tosses around her. Likewise, still mounted, she must then throw rice and candy which her mother-in-law or her sister-in-law offer her on a tray. The gesture of scattering bread, rice and candy and the multiplicity symbolized by the last two items will ensure abundance. Nature will show her generosity toward the new home. Moreover, the rice will contribute to "the taking-root of the couple" (according to a play of words in Greek in which "rice" and /263/ "root" are identical) and the candy will "sweeten" their lives. Dismounting from her horse, the bride heads towards the hut; she crushes a pomegranate on the ground and its seeds are scattered on the ground--a further symbol of the abundance and fertility of the earth. Once under her new roof, she empties on a piece of fabric stretched out on the ground two cups of wine (symbol of life and immortality). (38) The Sarakatsani

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38. See Iliad, 9, 705 f. "...enjoying bread and wine, for these are the sources of strength and courage..." According to Pliny: Natural History, 1412, the Greeks call life the act of drinking wine.--For the Babylonians

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/263 cont./

the tree of immortality is the vine: M. Eliade: Ibid., pp. 247 and 248, "the vine, the plant expression of immortality--just as the vine in archaic traditions has remained the symbol of youth and eternal life."

say that this libation gives rise to "health, abundance and good fortune." Sometimes the bride also pours out water, in order to be always "fresh as water."

However, abundance is further sustained by the snake for the polyvalent symbolism of the latter promotes abundance. Though explicit testimonies are lacking, the facts speak for themselves. It will be recalled that the Sarakatsani have extensive woodcrafts. On all the wooden objects they make are found various decorative motifs, mostly geometric and generally beautiful. Looking at them closely one immediately realizes that the snake, or rather the viper, appears only on the staffs of the shepherds or on the distaffs (fig. 104).A It is certain that the handle of the staff, in the shape of a definite and marked curvature, in itself suggests the movement of a snake. But the shape of the distaff calls to mind nothing similar. Moreover, nothing explains the absence of this motif on other objects. Now, it is obvious that the presence of the animal on the staff and the distaff is symbolic much more than it is ornamental. The snake accompanies these objects because they represent the two principal economic activities of the Sarakatsani, herding and wool crafts. If it is agreed that the chthonian forces favor fecundity and fertility, hence abundance, the viper will augment the yield from these two fundamental activities.

To complete our discussion of this subject we must still mention the Sarakatsani observances bearing on the propitious days for the performance of certain tasks. Thus, the shearing must never begin on Tuesday. On the other hand, it is altogether advisable to start the shearing on Maundy Thursday by symbolically removing a little wool from a sheep. Maundy

A, /See p. 429--Analyst/

/273 cont./

751 used as such far back in Oriental antiquity. The blue ball is a protection
789 against the evil eye. (65) And the wing of the bat makes a man charming
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65. See above the special section on this subject and the footnotes.

and insures his success in romance. (66)

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66. The use of the bat for magical ends is encountered in several traditional Greek communities (Epirus, Crete, Thrace, etc.), especially to make sure of a person's love. See Ph. Koukoules: Ibid., vol. A. II, p. 230. According to this author, at Kallipolis in Thrace the rejected lover desiring to win the lady of his dreams, cuts the throat of a bat with a gold piece and puts its spinal column beneath the church altar. Success is assured if he manages to touch his beloved with this bone. The same practice existed in Byzantium: M. ΨΕΛΛΟΣ: Ἐπετηρίς, 5, 478.

178 It seems that the Sarakatsani amulets testify to the survival of magico-religious beliefs of the east Mediterranean peoples, stored up in their souls in superimposed layers.

789 If Sarakatsani magic has to be very much concerned with children who "perpetuate the race," it must likewise be solicitous of the couple who represent the foundation of society.

789 During the nuptials, at the moment when the groom appears at the
585 dwelling of his fiancée, the latter's mother puts a rope around him. Then she smacks his face and all his attendants dash toward him and smack him also. We must see in this treatment an act that has a double meaning.
178 First, it is a survival of an ancient rite of flagellation with switches,
185 aiming at fecundity and abundance. (67)

67. On ritual flagellation see: Van der Leeuw: Ibid., p. 190.

176 And also it is a means of warding off the bad spirits and the harmful

789 /273 cont./
585 influences that ceaselessly threaten the well-being of men and, jealous,
[196] take advantage of moments of happiness to attack them. The smacks transform what seems to be a festival into a brawl. (68)

68. This practice is a result of the anthropomorphic form that the Saraktsani give certain bad spirits.

789 That is why, in the course of the feast that follows the celebration of
784 the wedding, the Sarakatsani put on a dance performed by the men alone.
535 Two young men, suitably disguised, here represent the married couple. At
585 a given moment they withdraw fro[illegible] the dance and, in front of everybody, simulate the sexual act, so that /274/ the evil spirits, deceived, descend on them - with no harmful consequences - and spare the couple.

789 However, curative procedures, as such, are not lacking. It is very
825 advisable, for example, always to have on oneself something derived from
[239] wild animals (skin of the hare, hairs of the wild boar, feathers of the partridge, etc.). These animals that feed on all the plants and shrubs of the field and forest transmit to men their admirable properties (strength, resistance, speed, etc.) as well as the medicinal qualities of their food. (69)

69. Van der Leeuw: Ibid., p. 66: "The superiority of the animal is quite evident. The animal has a power that is lacking in man: muscular force, sharpness of vision, keenness of smell, a sense of orientation..."

That is why honey is considered the best medicine because the bees gather
342 honey from all the flowering plants. When the building of a new hut is
789 finished, one does not move in before having lighted a fire in the hearth.
312 And if possible a priest is called to celebrate the office of the holy water. These two procedures tend to assure the well-being of the family. (70)

70. In both cases one seeks to keep off evil influences. That fire has warding-off properties against all evils that try to enter a new dwelling before people do is a very

/275 cont./

233 789 824 Let us recall first that when they construct a new sheepfold the Sarakatsani place there thorny shrubs which will threaten and repulse the evil. (73)

[196] [191] 73. We have spoken of this in connection with demons and the kalikantzari. According to the Byzantine

Μ. ΨΕΛΛΟΣ : Περί ἐνεργείας Δαιμόνων, M. P. G. 122, p. 873.

one can conquer the demons...by using knives and needles, for "they fear the points of iron objects." See also: A. Métraux: Les Indiens Uro-Čipaya, p. 350: "The house is often protected by a cactus..."

233 237 789 Moreover, the skull of the horse or a donkey is hung there for, the bone, extremely solid matter, transmits its resistance to the flocks and protects them further against the evil eye. (74)

[191] 74. A practice followed in many countries influenced by Greek and Latin civilizations. See P. Deffontaines: Ibid., p. 40: "In Spain, South America, North Africa one very often comes across skulls of cattle fastened to the house enclosure to shield it from the evil eye...To bring fertility to the orchard of the house, horses' skulls were used in Rome as well as North Africa." It is very probable that the Sarakatsani attributed this second significance to the skull.

233 789 823 585 The resistance of the livestock is further ensured by placing at the entrance to the stroungha a hatchet or a knife, hard objects that the animals touch as they trample over them; this practice is analogous to that which requires the newly-weds to walk on a metal object as they enter their hut for the first time.

233 789 All these practices are solely preventive. With respect to the curative aspect, and calling to mind the instance of Daoutis, we should note the measures to be taken at the time of small pox epidemic among the animals. According to the findings of M. Skafidas, (75)

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/322 cont./

fixing of the tuft of red wool on the door of the child-bearing woman announces that a legitimate birth has taken place in the family. When the wife carries out the /323/ rites of prosperity which are entrusted to her, her new role as mistress of the house and her status as wife are publically acknowledged. The right of the aunt on the paternal side to bury the placenta, testifying to the arrangement of tasks in a hierarchy, means that there is here likewise a hierarchical arrangement of prestige and, consequently, or persons. And when the elder son breaks on his head the bread commemorating his father (an act both magical and religious, of which we shall take note in the following chapter), his attendants recognize him as the successor to the deceased.

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All these examples, except the burial of the placenta, deal with socially new situations (birth, creation of a new family, succession to paternal authority) which, as such, might be questioned. The child could be illegitimate, the marriage not in order, the succession usurped. In studying the Sarakatsani family, kinship and the functions performed by the latter, we have become convinced that out herders place extreme importance on relations dealing with the family bond. All the actions connected with it aim to rule out any possibility of disagreements which would permit the incorrect application of the rules of family life. Now, it seems to us that the performance of the rites which, basically, are rites of passage dealing with the status of persons, is also directed toward the same end. No one is authorized to practice a rite or to benefit from it if his status, which authorizes it, is not confirmed beforehand. And if the group accepts the performance of the rite by or for this person, it is because it recognizes it the same time the legitimacy of the act and its context. This approval rules out any tension, any explosive situation, such as would occur if, in our examples, the child were illegitimate, the marriage irregular, the succession usurped. In these hypothetical instances, respectively, the conjugal family would split up; the extended

/332 cont./
the people who attended the service and who must make prayers conforming to the wishes of those who organized the ceremony.

Let us note that the killing and common consumption of a lamb are required on two other occasions, marriage and baptism, and that, in addition, the same practice is found in the funeral customs of which we shall speak later on.

The explanation of these customs is very simple. Semantics is very useful to us on this point. To indicate the solemn putting to death of the lamb, the Sarakatsani use the Turkish word courbani or the Greek thusia which means "sacrifice."

At first glance one might be tempted by the hypothesis that the term "sacrifice" has merely an economic meaning--/333/ the death of any animal representing a privation for the herder. This interpretation, very incomplete if not biased, is inadequate.

The context in which the sacrifice takes place suggests three hypotheses: the sacrifice is first of all an offering to divine forces. It is also a gift to an outside visitor. Finally, it is an immolation bound up with certain circumstances of transition.

One fact among those we have mentioned is particularly revealing in connections with the ideas determining these customs. It is the offering of lambs to the church because of a vow or under pressure of a serious illness. In both cases a life is offered to ward off the threats against existence and to safeguard the life of the group or of an individual. There is here an exchange of potentialities which ethnography and the history of religions have known for a long time.

The offering of a life to ensure a favorable outcome in new situations originates from the same concern. The immolation of animals at the time something new materializes, for example, the foundations of a new house is known in Greek custom. And in Hellenic folklore there is a

/342 cont./

Easter, etc.) a member of the Tséligato, preferably a woman, must go to church, attend mass and represent the group whose constant work prevents the carrying-out of this duty.

/343/ All the decisive moments of life, birth, baptism, marriage, death, represent so many occasions when the presence of a priest is required. Though authors like M. Skafidas (18)

18. Ibid., 1 107.

and Madame Hadjimichali, (19)

Fig. 183

/343 cont./

19. See Ibid., A. I., p. ξσ'.

the first in connection with marriage, the second in connection with burial, state the contrary, we were able to confirm that no conjugal union is contracted on the mere /344/ decision of the Tséligas and without a religious service, and that no burial takes place outside cemeteries. The priest is furthermore called upon to perform his ministrations at the time of the seasonal migrations, before departure, so that "the way is opened" and also in connection with the building of a new konakia. On these occasions he performs the service of "the holy water," according to the Orthodox rite.

But the phenomenon which shows best of all the intensity of Sarakatsani religiosity can be observed when someone dies without the aid of the last sacraments. For fear that the deceased will face the Supreme Judge without having fulfilled the last duty of a Christian, Sarakatsani society prescribes that in a corner of the hut a glass of wine be placed which is kept for three days, in order to permit the deceased's soul to come and partake of communion! In this practice, religion and the omni-functionalism of Sarakatsani society meet, as we have seen it do above and in connection with the practice of lamentations for the Lord.

To all this is added a myth reported by C. Hoeg which shows the pride of the Sarakatsani "in belonging to the true religion." "At the time we first came into being," our herders relate, "God asked us whether we preferred money, beauty or Christianity. We chose Christianity, the Jews money and the Turks beauty."

Nevertheless, in our observation of Sarakatsani life other facts seem to contradict these assertions. By their own confession, no Sarakatsani was ever ordained a priest. This statement was repeated to us by all the groups studied and was spoken with an air of pride and malice! Then again, their folklore is very rich in tales and anecdotes satirizing the clergy. By way of example we briefly reproduce the following:

/365 cont./

53 intended to answer the aesthetic requirements of these herders it must, at the same time, fulfill important functions. (1)

1. For a parallel study see the bibliography and the comments of G. Balandier in his article "Afrique Noire et Madagascar" in Encyclopédie de la Pléiade, Histoire de l'Art, 1, Le monde non chrètien (1962).

[128] We shall try to consider it in this chapter from this double point of view. Its morphological aspect will necessarily remain in shadow, for it does not enter into the scope of this work.

* * * *

The artistic world of the Sarakatsani is expressed in music (melodies sung or played), poetry (almost always in the form of words to songs), the dance (performed while singing), sculpture in wood, embroidery, narratives and tales.

Its manifestations, in any of these branches, may be classified into two fundamental categories: expressions that are "incorporated" into other aspects of culture, those that are "not incorporated" and the "free."

53 789 The "attached" manifestations are an indissoluble part of the magico-religious ritual and social proceedings. Their subject matter and form are strictly determined by tradition and the ideas that accompany [178] it. No innovation is tolerated, for any change would risk making the ritual ineffective and disrupting the principles of social life. The works of art which correspond to this category are carried out under conditions prescribed in advance and have in view the interests of the group. To /366/ furnish an illustration it is sufficient to recall the 789 533 585 [581] [535] [538] snakes that ornament the /shepherd's/ crook, the distaff and the ritual breads, the embroidered moons, the dances of the dramatic scenes, the verses recited during exorcisms, the phases of the wedding ceremony in

/366 cont./

789 533 585 [531] [535] [538] which songs are the keynote marking the stages of the procedure followed, dictating the sentiments and attitudes which the participants must experience, (2)

2. On the Thursday before the wedding, the girls, relatives of the betrothed couple, set out to gather wood that will be used to bake the wedding cake. And while walking they must sing the following song:

[539]

--The little "Rosebush" sets out to cut wood.
--The trees are hard and the girl frail and delicate.
--She wounds her small hand and cuts her little finger.

On Friday evening, at the dwelling of the fiance, the large nuptial flag is made, which is carried at the head of the procession when the latter departs for the dwelling of the fiancee. Here is the song that accompanies this work:

[539]

--For whom is this red and white flag?
--It is for the bridegroom, this red and white flag.
--Who makes it and who colors it red?
--His brothers, his sisters (etc.).
--All the cousins of the bridegroom must be there
--All must be armed and all must fire guns
So that the flag will know prosperity...
--Take care, stitch it tight
It will travel over the mountain
It will be torn by brambles
And the mother-in-law (father-in-law) will make fun
Of it.

When the procession is ready to leave with the fiancee, the

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(539)

company sings in her name and addresses the companions of the fiance:

--My new friends, do not hurry
Wait while I say goodbye to my mother
(my father, brothers, etc.)

See also the chapter on the family where are other examples of songs accompanying the phases of the wedding.

bereavement which is expressed by lamentations meant to ensure also the peace of the deceased, and so forth. Art then becomes the vehicle of magic, one of the agents of man's control of nature. The fashioning of symbols and the performance of dances must be faultless, because the perfect, hence artistic, form produces a more powerful effect.

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The "free" manifestations are connected with relaxation, amusement, pleasure. However, though "free," they must conform to the general style of Sarakatsani art. Innovations and little fantasies are tolerated insofar as they do not change the accepted style. The corresponding works may be carried out when custom demands it or allows it, and even at the pleasure of the Sarakatsani. It will be interesting to give a /367/ brief glimpse of these manifestations. First, there is a group of songs which includes:

533

Table songs sung during feasts and divided into epics and sentimental songs. Slow and serious, the first of these celebrate the exploits and the heroism of those who, during the Turkish occupation, sacrificed themselves for freedom. The second, more lively, tell stories of love. Since love is officially excluded from Sarakatsani life, there seems to be a contradiction here. This came to the attention of C. Hoeg who was given the following explanation by his informants: "The songs are lies," which means they relate to fictitious situations. Perhaps one might

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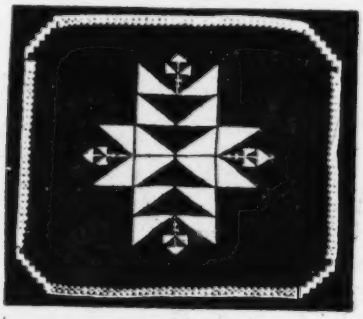

Fig. 107

/371 cont./

53 precisely what the "authorized" sentiments, so to speak, are and the place
152 they occupy in Sarakatsani life.

585 When the bride leaves her paternal hut her attendants perform a song
533 which is supposed to be a dialogue between the girl and her mother:
539
152 --My rosy apple, where will you take shelter tonight?
--You show no tenderness for me,
Why are you interested in my fate?
--I pine away for you
And I shall die if I cannot see you...
--Follow the shore of the sea
You will find three beds
On the one you will see my mother asleep
On the other, my sister,
And on that which is covered with roses
It is I who shall sleep alone...

/371 cont./

585 Sorrow at separation, modesty before the wedding night, authorized
533 sentiments come together with the very beautiful poetic form, which
152 testifies to the sensitivity of the Sarakatsani. Another song, a funeral
764 song, says:
533
539 --The birds, the nightingales have deceived me...
They told me that Charon would never carry me away...
--I have built my houses of marble
The doors are of gold, the windows of silver
And the keys pure and splendid pearls...
--But I see from afar Charon who comes on his mount.
He is black, and his horse, his clothing are black also
--Charon come, enter, sit at my table and share my respast...
--I have not come to eat and to sing,
I have come to seek your soul.

Or again:

--Yesterday, the day before yesterday, I passed the church of Saint Demetrius...
--I heard young people lamenting
young girls sighing...
/372/--The young men because they had no finery...
And the boys not married wept
because they had not known betrothal.
--Oh! It is not fair that young men die
And that young girls are forgotten...

Profound human reverberations echo in these verses.

533 That art or the song have psychological, "liberating" functions for
152 human sorrow does not escape the Sarakatsani. A female informant from
154 Tchépélovo spoke the following lines to us:
124 "Songs are words that sorrow speaks. They would like to do away with
539 the blaze of their grief, but this fire won't be extinguished."